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The first glimpses of Christianity were given to the Northmen in their incessant widely spaced travelings. Sagas date their maritime enterprises as far back as the fifth and sixth centuries, whilst, historically, they are chronicled from the end of the seventh upwards. But it must be said from the outset that those early purely piratical expeditions did little or nothing to shatter the pagan religion of the North.

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"The Great Spirit." Of their later pilgrimages more will be said anon.

It would be idle to try and register a definite date for Scandinavia's conversion. The three separate kingdoms of Denmark, Norway and Sweden, each received the Faith at a different period and probably from different sources. Norway is generally considered as the last to have entered the Church (towards the end of the tenth century), but some thickly wooded parts of Sweden remained pagan right unto the twelfth century, and in some aspects the Swedish peasant has still much in common with his heathen ancestors.

Langebec gives the year 826 as the approximate date for Denmark's conversion.[1] Then it happened that "Haraldus, Rex Danorum, baptizatus est cum uxore et multis Danis" by a Bishop Reimbert. A year later the Gospel was spread throughout the whole country,—"Sanctus Ansgarius evangelizavit gentem Danorum," and from yet another source we learn that some forty years later the first Danish bishoprics were founded by Adaldagus, Archbishop of Bremen, ". . . primo ordinavit Episcopos in Daniam ad Slesewig, ad Ripam et ad Arhusam . . . Horedum, Liafdagum et Rehinbrandum. . . ."[2] The earliest church in Denmark was that built at Heidaby somewhere near 850, and the two first Episcopal sees were at Lund and Roeskilo.

The best and by far the most graphic description of Denmark's conversion has come down to us from the pen of Adam of Bremen:—"Ecce illa ferocissima Danorum . . . natio . . . quae iuxta beati Gregorii verba, nihil autem scivit nisi barbarum frendere, iamdudum novit in Dei laudibus alleluias resonare. . . . Ecce populus ille piraticus, a quo totans olim Galiarum et Germaniae provinciae legimus depopulatas, suis nunc finibus contentus est, dicens cum Apostolo,—'non habentes manentem hic civitatem, sed futuram inquirimus et credimus videre bona Domini in terra viventium'."

Yet soon after this successful evangelization we read that "Christianitas in Dania turbata est" by the onslaught from the then yet pagan Northmen and from the fierce tribes in the East,

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1 LANGEBEC, *Rer. Danic., I, 367 et seqq.*
2 LINDEBRUCH, *Hist. Arch. Brem., 1595, p. 12 et seqq.*

but, nevertheless, the Faith, once planted, did not suffer such a complete uprooting in Denmark as had taken place in Iceland.

From the very beginning the Danish Church assumed an absolute independence from the secular authority as well as from the royal treasury.[3] This was not the case in Norway, as we are about to see.

The latter accepted Christianity more than a hundred years later than Denmark. Even at such a late date this acceptance was a slow and gradual process. Olaf I, the great-grandson of Harald, was the first missionary in Norway, though his early efforts would have met with but an indifferent success, had he not used his authority to the very utmost.

The first "Christ's Messengers" to reach Norway were some monks from Germany, whose nationality is uncertain. An obscure Northern tradition says that these monks "went further northward, having first accomplished a brilliant conversion of Denmark," yet if we are to accept this statement as true, we have no other choice but to delegate Norway's conversion to the same date as that of Denmark, i. e. 850 and even earlier. This, in its turn, is contradicted by a large mass of evidence pointing to the fact that up to the end of the ninth century Norway, as a country, remained largely heathen. It is equally true, nevertheless, that the infant Danish Church did influence her Norwegian sister and at some later date Anglo-Saxon and Irish missionaries entered the field.

Since Norway was brought to Christianity mainly by the efforts of her kings (in particular of Olaf I and Olaf II), it was almost inevitable that the ecclesiastical affairs often should have suffered the unwanted intervention of secular authorities, an abuse which a later Papal Legate, Nicholas Breakspeare, came to amend. Again, the very Canon Law in Norway, the so-called Graagaas, owed its origin to the royal energy. Magnus, St. Olaf's son, "edited" it, as the chronicle says,—"hoc autem opere adeo sibi populum universum deduxit . . . ut . . . communi omnium calculo bonus cognominatus fuerit." Both bishops and minor clergy were economically dependent on the crown, and no tithes were imposed until the year 1100, and sometimes priests

3 Most of the early Danish Bishops were kinsmen of the reigning house.

were literally driven to beg for their very livelihood. It was probably on account of their poverty and rumored meanness that Adam of Bremen, rather unjustly, calls them "avaricious."

But, for all the slowness of their conversion, the Norse soon came to have two great Saints of their own. One was St. Olaf and the other, St. Thorwaldr, the valiant Apostle of Iceland, whose commemoration was entered into the Norwegian Canon Law as a day of obligation.

The third and last of Scandinavian kingdoms, Sweden, became definitely Christian only towards the end of the twelfth century. It is true that much earlier than that a certain Libent, Archbishop of Bremen, consecrated the first Bishop of Sweden, a "Rudolph à Nordmannia," but paganism in Sweden had taken deeper roots than elsewhere, and even in the twelfth century the famous Odin Sanctuary at Upsala was not yet pulled down. Again, Sweden's neighborhood afforded but few facilities for missionary labors: to the North and the East the country bordered on vast forest lands, populated by savage heathen tribes, whose frequent, unexpected invasions of Swedish soil proved a formidable hindrance to the undisturbed spread of Christianity.

Before we go on with out account of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the medieval North, let a few words be said about those renowned pilgrimages of theirs.

The period when the North began to shed its paganism was avowedly one of great spiritual uplifting in Europe. It would be hard to believe that the Crusade Movement, as such, could have passed utterly unnoticed in the North, and yet it is nevertheless a fact that the Northmen were absent in the first Crusade. You may scan all the existing chronicles without finding a single mention of them. There is no evidence to throw light on this seemingly strange occurrence: it was assumed by some historians[4] that the Church preferred to use the crusading possibilities of the Northmen in the lands lying nearest to their own countries, namely, in Finland, the Baltic Coast and the extreme north of Sweden and Korel. Again, they had not yet achieved the uprooting of paganism in their own midst. But even though

4 RIANT, amongst others.

their hosts were markedly absent in the great Crusade Movement, we yet find them no strangers to the lofty ideals of Christian pilgriming.

In earlier times their daring voyages had been undertaken for sheer piratical purposes. The Southern lands had many spoils wherewith to lure their swift-sailing boats. But with the acceptance of Christ's creed, the peoples of the North entered on a new phase of traveling—"Penance and praise to God for His gifts," under such motto they would from henceforth journey to Rome and the Holy Land.

Pilgrims would be absent for such lengthy periods that eventually definite laws had to be passed, protecting their property during their pilgrimages. The absentee was also given the right to appoint some friend or kinsman to take his place in the National Assembly, as we see from the Gülathings Lög. The very organization of those pilgrimages compels our admiration. Nothing would be left to chance. All rules and regulations are irreproachably clear and definite. A law says that a murderer (obviously ordered to do penance), who had once made the vow of expiatory pilgrimage, is granted "eight days' peace before his departure and as much on his return."[5] Again no pilgrim was to be detained in custody if detected begging for the necessary means to start on his voyage. Sometimes regular collections were sanctioned, and this was called "Pilàgrims-braud," or "Pilgrims' bread."

Their pilgrimages ordinarily led them to three places: St. Peter's tomb in Rome, San Jago di Compostella's shrine in Spain and the Holy Land. Most of the pilgrims went by land and here and there we find mention of specially erected hospices to give shelter to pilgrims of all nationalities, whilst in Rome the Great Danorum," erected two such hospices, one at Lucca and the other near the Borgo S. Domino for those who speak "the tongue of the Norse." The Mont Cenis Hospice, as is well known, afforded shelter to pilgrims of all nationalities, whilst in Rome the Great Canute, in commemoration of his own pilgrimage of 1027, founded a large hospice for those "af Danskri tungu"—of the Danish tongue.

5 See GUTALAG, *Ed. Save, XIII, 8.*

The Northmen were known to travel by three separate routes. The most ancient of them was the so-called Austrvegr,—the Way of the East, known best to the Norwegians, frequented by the Swedes and shunned most studiously by the Danes.

It led from the town of Visby on the Isle of Gothland, the Eye of the Baltic, "Eystras-alts-Auga," later so famous for its magnificent Church of St. Olaf. From Gothland pilgrims' boats would go to the North Baltic Lakes and thus come down towards the Black Sea, sailing along the big rivers of modern Russia. Constantinople would be reached through the Dardanelles, and there some of the pilgrims would end their journey. The body-guard of the Byzantine Emperors consisted entirely of the Northmen, "The Varengos," to follow the language of Anna Comnen.

The second route lay in the southwestern direction. In reality it is the oldest route, this the so-called Vestvegr, i. e., the Way of the West. It led right from the coasts of Norway to the shores of Africa, and the Northmen's proud boast rang that their feet never once touched land throughout the voyage. Thus they came down "in their numberless boats" to threaten the walls of Narbonne in 788 and thus also their fleets ravaged the Southern coasts of France in 820.

But towards the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth centuries the Austrvegr became well-nigh impassable, since Russia was invaded by the Tartar hordes, whilst the Vestvegr seemed to repel some of the pious pilgrims, bound up, as it necessarily was, with the unchristian associations of fierce piratical ventures. Thus a third route came into existence, the Romàvegr, "the Way to Rome."

The starting point was Denmark and from there pilgrims would pass through the forests and plains of Germany, cross the Alps and find themselves in sunny Italy. A detailed itinerary of this route is left to us by a learned Norwegian Benedictine, Nicholas Saemudarsson, who visited Rome some time in 1151. From Jutland in Denmark pilgrims would go on to Mayence, then to Utrecht, Cologne, Basle, Strassbourg, Soleuse, Reichenau, Vevey and Montjoux. Once Sutrium was safely reached, "one could see Rome at a distance of four miles with its palaces and

churches, nobody knows their number. . . the most beautiful that of All-Hallows, 'Allra Heilagra Kirkju'."

But whilst the North was untiring in sending out innumerable pilgrims to the hallowed places of Christendom, the interior position of the three Churches remained in a state of sad disorganization. The four episcopal sees of Norway, viz., those of Nidaros (modern Trondjem), Bergen, Oslo (later Christiania, now once more Oslo), and Stavanger had no real head over them and each claimed superiority over the others. Again the three Danish Bishoprics disputed each other's authority and precedence, whilst the conditions in Sweden were still more deplorable owing to the interior chaos. Thus a definite reform of the Northern Church was promulgated by Pope Gregory IV who decreed that the three Churches of Denmark, Sweden and Norway, together with the bishoprics of the adjoining islands, were to be subject to the authority of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen. This measure eventually led to discontent, mainly based on national feelings, and at last Pope Paschal II, early in the twelfth century, founded a new Archbishopric of Lund in Denmark and placed the churches of Norway and Sweden under its direct jurisdiction. According to a Northern chronicle, Paschal II "elegit Ascerium, virum valde religiosum . . . qui obiit Anno Dñi 1137." Thus great were the Archbishop's strivings after peace that when he died,—"tenebrae factae sunt per universam terram."

Yet a considerable time before that the missionary problems of the North were of deep concern for the Lateran. An interesting correspondence between Pope Gregory VII and King Olaf the Quiet of Norwat has come down to us.[6] It is obvious that the King had begged the Pope to send him priests fitted to cope with the difficult missionary tasks in Norway. Many of the local clergy were so unlettered that they could not even grasp the simplest rudiments of Church Latin.[7] Gregory answered that

6 UNGER, *Diplom. Norweg.*, VI, Anno Dni, 1078.

7 In connection with this a story runs that a Norwegian King's Chaplain had a cruel joke played on him by some French emissaries at Court, who, having discovered the priest's ignorance of Latin, erased the first syllable in the opening word of the prayer for the King, "famulum tuum salve hoc Domine, etc.," and for a considerable time the chaplain intoned the thus mutilated prayer and none appeared any the wiser.

he would willingly send priests and monks, but the immediate realization of this plan seemed to him impossible in view of the distance. Again the Pope justly feared that Italian clerics would make but very little headway in the North, ignorant as they were of the language and customs. In yet another letter Gregory unfolds an interesting scheme of a "Collegium Norwegicum" in Rome, where young Northmen could come and study theology and be prepared for ordination and then return home,—"non quasi ignoti, sed cognati," but nothing more was heard of this project.

The founding of the Lund Archbishopric proved to be no happy solution to the Northern problem. All went well under the saintly and peace-loving Ascerius, but his successor, the famous Eskill, pursued an entirely different line of policy. His election followed those very "tenebrae" which covered the "universam terram" in the words of the chronicler, and it almost seems as though for the better part of his time in office, those "tenebrae" were hardly ever dissipated. The then Archbishop of Hamburg - Bremen, Hartwig, Eskill's nearest ecclesiastical neighbor, bitterly resented the so-called Lund policy, which had removed the Northern Churches from under his own jurisdiction, and he took no pains to conceal his hostile attitude. It is even said that Hartwig went thus far as to appeal to Rome (in 1149) to revoke Pope Paschal's decision, but his effort "frustra fuit. . . ." "Qui propter generis nobilitatem (he was of blood-royal) duplice principatu clarus magno studio enisus est, pro recuperandis suffrageneis Episcopis universae Daniae, Norwegiae et Swediae quo Hamburgensi Ecclesiae quondam pertinuisse commemorat antiquitas. . . ." Yet in his own way Hartwig won considerable popularity in Denmark, and Suhm says that when he went on his visits there, he brought with him priest and monks to further missionary labors.[8]

But Eskill, the second Archbishop of Lund, seems verily to have gone out of his way to create trouble amongst the neighboring churches of Sweden and Norway. They deeply resented his thinly veiled attempts to establish an absolute autocracy, as is well shown in the chronicle which says that Eskill "suae potes-

8 SUHM, *Hist. Danska, VI, 404, . . "bringende med sig en Del Praester og Munke."*

tatis stabiliendae primum fecit periculum dum ad concilium nationale Lundae celebratum Anno Domini 1139, omnes suffraganeos Episcopos non Daniae solum verum etiam Sweciae Norwegiaeque auctoritate archiepiscopale convocaret."

And some time after this Synod at Lund, Pope Eugenius III resolved to send his legate to the North "ad recognoscendum statum ecclesiasticum formandumque."[9] The whole object of Breakspeare's mission was, again to follow Torfaeus, . . . "primarius legationis scopus quicquid circa sacra emendationem requirere videbatur ad Pontificiae institutionis normam reduxit." Thus Breakspeare was authorized to put an end to the Lund disputes by giving national metropolitans both to Norway and Sweden, but, incidentally, he came to reform and amend many an abuse in the Northern Church, so much so that his name has gone down in their history as that of a saint,—"Scriptores nostri eum inter sanctos numerant."[10]

The first Archbishopric of Norway was founded in 1154; its seat was chosen to be Nidaros, renowned for holding the precious relics of St. Olaf. The first Archbishop was a certain Jon Birgensson, and Snorri Sturlesson informs us that the legate gave the new candidate "a vestment which is called 'pallium'," thereby implying that the North was not yet familiar with the meaning of the word. The four bishoprics of Norway, the two of Iceland, the four of Greenland, Faroë Island, the Orkneys and the Södor Man,—all came under the jurisdiction of the newly elected metropolitan. This was later confirmed by a bull of Pope Anastasius IV (*Multiplicatum in fructum studuit reportare*)[11] where he, giving tribute to Breakspeare's mission, (admonishes the Norwegian Archbishop thus)—"successores autem tui ad Romanum Pontificem tantum recepturi donum consecrationis accedant et ei simili modo et Romanae Ecclesiae subiecti semper existant."

But the idea of a Swedish metropolitan came to be realized quite ten years later in view of the unforeseen political disturbances during Breakspeare's legateship. The Bull of Alexander

9 Torfaeus, *Hist. Norw., ed. 1711, III, 531 et seqq.*
10 *Ibid.*
11 Migne, *Patrologia Latina, CLXXXVIII, 1081.*

III,[12] addressed to the newly appointed Archbishop of Upsala, proclaims, however, that "Statuimus autem ut sicut tu de concessione et mandato nostro consecrationis munus a venerabili fratre nostro Lundensi archiepiscopo susecepistsi, ita et successores tui ab eo et a successoribus eius consecrationem debeant absque ulla contradictione recipere et tanquam propri primati obedientiam et reverentiam exhibere," which shows that the Lund Archbishops had all throughout retained a certain authority over Swedish metropolitans.

Further privileges to the Northern churches were granted by Alexander III, whose correspondence contains no less than seventeen letters addressed to various bishops and prelates of the North, by Lucius III,[13] Clement III, Innocent III, Gregory IX, Innocent IV and Clement IV.

From the subsequent correspondence of several Popes,[14] it stands obvious that for a long time secular intervention in ecclesiastical matters was rampant in the North. The Popes had to lay down drastic prohibitions of any such abuses, ". . . cum ecclesiastice dignitates et spiritualis iurisdictio a laicorum personae debeant esse alienae. . . ." And in yet another place Celestine lays stress on the for a while neglected reforms of Breakspeare the Legate, ". . . Quod canonicas institutiones Adriani Papae quibus tres archidiaconates in ecclesia vestra distinxit, per laicos iurisdictiones conquerimini ecclesiasticas exerceri. . . ." And again, ". . . auctoritate presentium distinctius inhibemus, ne aliquis laicus in diocesi vestra ecclesiasticam iurisdictionem exerceat, vel causas audiat, vel definiat, quae iudicio exigunt ecclesiastico terminari. . . ."[15]

Nevertheless, the so-called formation period of the Northern Church seems to have reached its end within the last years of the twelfth century. Each of the three kingdoms now possessed its own metropolitan, and though many difficulties still loomed on their way, yet the main task of bringing the North into the Catholic Fold was practically achieved. And just at that time Scandinavian priests and monks started on their missionary

12 MIGNE, *P. L., CC, 301 et seqq.*
13 MIGNE, *P. L., CC, 1373.*
14 THORKELIN, *Diplom. Arna-Magn., II, 17 and* MIGNE, *P. L., CCVI, 1159, Celestini III Papae Epistolae.*
15 *Ibid.*

labors in the adjoining still heathen lands, and many a martyr from the young monasteries of Norway, Sweden and Denmark was given to the cause of evangelization of Korel and Finland. The traces of their zeal are still extant, particularly in Finland, where the great Cathedral at Abo stands to-day as a silent memorial of the once fervid Catholic loyalty of the North.

But no outline of the early Scandinavian Church would be complete without a mention being made of the solemn offering vowed by the young King Magnus in 1164, whereby he "eternally" bestowed his kingdom to the patronage of St. Olaf. It was through the Church's speedy intervention that his crown was not lost to him and his country saved from many a disastrous turmoil, and the king's gratitude could surely find no better expression than this. The text of Magnus's oath is a sufficiently eloquent comment in itself,[16] ". . . Ego, Magnus, Dei gratia, etc., etc., etc., Quoniam communicato sapientorum consilio Dominatum et diadema Regni huius invocatu Spritu Sancto . . . vestrae manus impositione . . . de manu. Dei suscepimus . . . cui servire regnare est. . . . Sub eius Dominio . . . tanquam suus vicarius. . . . In perpetue quoque subiectionis testimonium, hoc pro me et pro omnibus meis Catholicis successoribus, privilegium huic Metropolitanae Ecclesiae concedo, et literis meis sigillatis confirmo, ut post vocationem meam Regale diadema et meum, quod hodierna die sacro Altari in confirmationem offero, et omnium mihi succedentium presenti delegetur Ecclesiae. . . ."

"Meis Catholicis successoribus. . . ." But later came Gustav Vasa, the Stockholm Shambles and the arrogant Fathers of the Scandinavian Reformation. . . .

EDITH M. ALMEDINGEN,
London, England.

16 THORKELIN, *Diplom, Arna-Magn., II, 8.*

GALLITZIN[1]

Demetrius Augustine Gallitzin, the only son and the second of two children of Dmitri Alexievitch Gallitzin and Amalia von Schmettau, was born at the Hague on December 22d, 1770. His elder sister, Marianne, was born in Berlin on December 7th, 1769. The parents had been married, after a brief and ardent courtship by the father, in a chapel at Aix-la-Chapelle on the mother's twentieth birthday, August 28th, 1768. The father at the time was thirty years old and was ambassador to the court of France.

Dmitri Alexievitch Gallitzin, the father, was descended from the best Russian stock for a thousand years back, reaching to the Lithuanian family of Gedimir, and had in his veins the blood of statesmen, soldiers and rulers. He was a diplomat of great ability, a scientist and a writer of distinction. He was made ambassador to the court of France in his twenty-fifth year and ambassador to the Hague in his thirty-fifth year. His scientific books were: *Description Physique de la Tauride Relativement aux Trois Regnes de la Nature* published in 1788, and *Treté de Mineralogie ou Description Abrégée et Methodique des Minéraux* in 1792. He was an intimate friend of Diderot and was in close touch with Voltaire and d'Alembert. He died in 1803.

Amalia von Schmettau, the mother, was a daughter of the General Field Marshal Baron von Schmettau, a Protestant, and Baroness von Ruffert, a Catholic. She was born on August 28th, 1748. She lost her father when she was a child and was placed in a convent in Breslau for education. At the age of about fifteen years she was sent to an atheistic finishing school in Berlin where the religion which she had imbibed in the convent gradually faded into indifferentism. An innate craving for knowledge and a love of truth preserved for her a glimmer of faith although at the time of her marriage and for some years thereafter she professed no religion and sought her spiritual happiness in intellectual activity. After a long illness in her thirty-fifth year, she gave serious thought to the subject of religion and studied

1 Paper read at the Seventh Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, Philadelphia, Dec. 27-29, 1926.

the Faith from which she had drifted. She resumed her Catholic life in her thirty-eighth year, when her children had grown up into womanhood and manhood, and brought them with her into the Faith. She became most ardent in the practice of her religion.

Gallitzin's parents both were people of fine intellect, strong character and refined habits. The mother was drawn to the father by his great learning and striking intelligence and the father was drawn to the mother by her rare beauty and splendid accomplishments. They had two children in the first three years of married life and none thereafter. Apparently there was some incompatibility between them which threw them apart early in married life. The mother, disgusted with the inanities of high life, yearned for an intellectual career with her children. Through the intervention of Diderot, who became interested in her aspirations, she obtained the consent of her husband to retire from social life, at first to separate quarters in his own residence and later on to a separate home at the Hague to which she gave the name of "Nithuys" (not at home). Here she lived with and for her children, pursuing her own education and that of her children. She was on intimate terms with the Princess of Nassau-Orange, wife of William V. The little son of the Princess, Frederich William, was Gallitzin's playmate. Friendly relations were maintained between husband and wife and the husband frequently visited his wife and the children and kept up a correspondence with his wife. In his letters he addressed her as "My dear Friend."

Gallitzin's education from his earliest years was obtained from competent tutors under the supervision of his mother. Franz Hemsterhuys, son of Tiberius Hemsterhuys, was his tutor at the Hague, at the same time directing the mother in her studies. The mother yearned for knowledge for its own sake and for what it would enable her to do for her children. She sought to make the education of her children natural and practical and to keep them free from the injury of outside influences. She mapped out her children's education in every particular and always kept in close touch with them.

Gallitzin in his earliest childhood, when his mother still participated in high life, had servants, was petted and had free

play for the cultivation of all tyrannical instincts. When his mother took charge of him all this was changed and he was thrown on his own resources under the vigilant eye of his mother. He had to wait on himself and became acquainted with the rod as a stimulant and a persuasive force instead of petting and coaxing. With this treatment, qualities of character cropped out which disturbed the mother and which she constantly tried to correct. He seemed to be timid, fearful, independent and droll. His mother could not get close to him. It would seem that he had more the nature of a woman than of a man, really the nature of his own mother. This led to aloofness on his part and disappointment and heartache for the mother.

In 1779, when Gallitzin was nine years old, the mother changed her place of residence from the Hague to Münster to give her children better opportunities for education. Von Fuerstenberg's school system at Münster attracted her. Von Fuerstenberg became her director of education but she herself continued in control of the training of her children. Amalia von Schmettau, a niece of Gallitzin's mother, and George Jacoby were school companions, apparently all under the direction of the mother. Casper Max Droste, who subsequently became Bishop of Münster, and Franz Droste, subsequently Dom Capitallar, were constant companions. The children had tutors but always under the guidance of the mother, who participated in the teaching. As they grew older, the mother held educational conferences at her house of evenings in which learned and prominent persons took part. She also took the children on frequent trips to towns and cities for practical demonstration in matters which were the subject of study.

Gallitzin's education in religion was colorless in the beginning of his life. It was the mother's wish that it should be historical and scientific, suitable to the career which he was to follow. Later, when the mother resumed her practical Catholic life, it was given a strongly religious hue because she was anxious to mould the minds of her children in harmony with her new lines of thought. Religion evidently appealed to Gallitzin as he promptly took up Catholic life with zeal and devotion. His mother began the renewal of her religious life by receiving Holy Communion on her thirty-eighth birthday, August 28th, 1786,

and on January 3d, 1787, Gallitzin and his sister were admitted to the Holy Table in a most solemn manner in the little church at Angelmodde, the country residence of the mother. The mother presented Gallitzin with a sword on this occasion. On Trinity Sunday, 1787, Gallitzin was confirmed and took the name of Augustine.

Gallitzin's home became the centre of refined intellectualism and unobtrusive piety with the return of his mother to her practical Catholic life. His mother became very devout and aimed at a high degree of sanctity. She selected Rev. Dr. Overberg, a very saintly man, as her confessor. Von Fuerstenberg, Stolberg, the Drostes and religious people of high standing were constant visitors at her house. Her husband's friends, Voltaire, Goethe, Diderot and men of this kind also came to it. The Trappists, when expelled from France, were frequent visitors.

Gallitzin himself became quite ardent in his religious life and, possibly through the influence of his two companions, the Drostes, who were aiming for the priesthood, developed an inclination for the priesthood. When he made known his desire there was consternation in his family and among his friends. The father opposed the idea so vehemently that Gallitzin made no further reference to it. Apparently the mother also opposed it. Parents and friends took it for granted that he would fill the high position in Russian life for which his birth and the prominence of his family destined him. Whatever may have been his own further thoughts upon the subject, he kept them to himself. To the mother this secretiveness was most annoying and she constantly found fault with him for it. To her he seemed to be a dreamer, uninterested in his own future. The father understood him better. "Mitri," he wrote to the mother, "I fear will give us much concern even if he does not bring us blushes and sorrow. Quiet water runs deep. I think you really are mistaken about his actual character: indeed he always seems to swim against the current." Evidently the discordance between his own thoughts and ideas of life and those of his parents and friends drove his thoughts and desires back into the recesses of his own heart.

He nonchalantly pursued the line of education which his mother laid down for him and this met with the approval of his

father. The education undoubtedly was excellent for what the parents wanted—a Russian aristocrat—but not for a leader of men in a democratic community, as subsequent events showed. It had none of that quality which is obtained in the university life as Newman portrays it. Had it had some of it, Gallitzin might have been spared many sorrows and in all probability he would have accomplished more in life than he actually did.

When Gallitzin had pursued his education as far as it could be given under his mother's guidance, it was decided that he should complete it either by a service in the army or by travelling in Europe. The disturbances in Europe made both unfeasible for the moment. A period of travel in the United States was therefore agreed upon. He was now in his twenty-second year and was a refined, polished, scholarly man, well up in the classics, a good musician, a good swordsman and a fair mathematician. He had been brought up in a most refined atmosphere and his character and bearing showed the evidences of it.

He left Münster for Rotterdam in the company of his mother on August 8th, 1792, and departed from Rotterdam in the company of Rev. Felix Brosius, who was going to America as a missionary, on August 18th. In the moment of separation from his mother he hesitated about going and she, as the story goes, in urging him, pushed him and he fell into the water from which he was rescued by the seamen and taken directly into the vessel. He assumed the name of Smith, a modification of his mother's name, at the advice of his father in order to avoid the burdens and expense which might go with travelling under the name of Gallitzin. He took with him letters of introduction from his father to prominent men in the United States and, through the influence of his mother, from religious men in Europe to Bishop Carroll.

He landed in Baltimore on October 28th, 1792. He entered the Sulpician seminary on November 5th. Evidently the time spent on the ocean was given to serious thought which fructified in putting into execution his former inclination to become a priest and missionary. His only fellow-student at the seminary was John Floyd, who was ordained to the priesthood on December 19th, 1795, and who died in 1797 from a contagious disease contracted in the line of duty.

It is quite probable that he confided his desire to become a priest to Bishop Carroll and to Father Nagot on his arrival in America and won them over to his aspirations, at least tentatively. On December 13th, 1792, Bishop Carroll wrote to Gallitzin's mother: "That which I have learned of you, Madam, from Mr. Brosius and from your son adds to my veneration for your virtues and binds me to interest myself still more in the welfare of Mr. Gallitzin. I believed the best thing I could do to respond to the confidence with which you have honored me was to place him here under my own eyes at the seminary which is just being formed in this city. This establishment is well furnished with excellent professors; piety, the greatest regularity, the love of study and seclusion are its characteristics. It is under the presidency of a French priest of the highest virtue, Mr. Nagot, late, first rector of the seminary of St. Sulpice in Paris but by the changes in France forced to seek an asylum here. I have put your son in his hands for the direction of his conscience and surely he could not be better placed in order to respond to the views which Providence seems to have for him. I have the pleasure of telling you that so far his conduct is all that the virtuous and saintly Monica could desire in her dear Augustine and I am persuaded that his future conduct will not belie its present beautiful presages." (*Life of D. A. Gallitzin* by SARAH M. BROWNSON, p. 74.) It would seem that Gallitzin's mother did not read out of Bishop Carroll's letter all which might have been read out of it for apparently she remained ignorant of her son's intention.

That at least he had the desire to become a priest from the time of his entrance into the seminary is also indicated by letters which he wrote to Father Schnoesenberg, a Franciscan, who had been his confessor in Europe, for advice regarding his vocation. The first letter appears to have been written upon his entrance into the seminary. Father Schnoesenberg did not answer this letter. Apparently he kept silent through human respect and out of fear of entanglement in so grave a matter. Under the circumstances, Gallitzin had to content himself for the time being with the advice of his new friends, Father Nagot and Bishop Carroll, and went on with his studies in the seminary. He traveled somewhat as he had been instructed to do by his father perhaps partly to allay suspicions which might be aroused

about his designs. In a letter to his father in October, 1793, he gives a description of the country between Baltimore and Philadelphia. The father, in acknowledging this letter, expresses his pleasure at the contents of it and urges his son to continue his travels.

Just what Gallitzin's motive was in keeping from his parents his resolution to become a priest does not appear. It may be that he wanted to hear from his former confessor, Father Schnoesenberg, before he finally decided the matter. He wrote a second letter to Father Schnoesenberg which likewise remained unanswered. A third letter which he wrote in 1793 was inadvertently handed to Rev. Dr. Overberg to be read in the presence of the mother, Rev. Mr. Fuerstenburg and others, because Father Schnoesenberg did not have his glasses with him. Consternation spread over the audience as the contents of the letter unfolded themselves. The mother was almost overcome with grief and distress, probably from fear of the effect of this determination of her son on the father. Moreover, she was in an agony of doubt about her son's actual vocation. Her old misgivings about his character still colored her thoughts.

Now that the secret was out, Father Schnoesenberg answered Gallitzin's letters on August 14th, 1794, and urged him to lay the whole matter before his parents and be guided by their wishes. The greater part of this letter was really devoted to an apology for his own conduct. Gallitzin's mind, however, was already made up without the advice of his former confessor and he took minor orders on November 21st, 1794, probably about the time at which he received Father Schnoesenberg's letter.

Gallitzin's mother soon became reconciled to her son's determination and when she had assured herself of his vocation through letters from Father Nagot and Bishop Carroll, became overjoyed at having a son with a vocation for the priesthood. The father accepted the situation philosophically but with disapproval of his son's action. Gallitzin really did inform his mother of his intention to become a priest, in a letter which he wrote to her from Georgetown on September 25th, 1793, but whether he gave her this information of his own initiative or in reply to an inquiry from her, does not appear. It would seem that the father also began to get some inkling of what was going

on, perhaps through the conduct and words of the mother to him, for he became anxious for his son's return to Europe. In January, 1794, he sent to the mother, to be transmitted to his son, an order from the government for his son's return to his regiment within six months. A letter from him to the mother of date of February 16th, 1794, shows, however, that he did not yet know definitely what was going on. Some time during this year, Gallitzin evidently wrote to and informed him of his purpose and asked for his consent, for on January 12th, 1795, the father, in a letter to the mother, indicated that he had received two letters from his son in reference to his vocation and that he deeply deplored his son's action. In this letter the father seems to be downcast and he asks his wife what he should write to his son. He declares he will never give his consent to his son's action but will harbor no ill-will towards him and will never treat him unkindly. Finally, he asks his wife to send the letter which he is then writing to her, to his son and thus save himself the embarrassment of answering his son's letters.

Gallitzin's life with the Sulpicians as a student awakened in him a desire to become a member of the organization. In January, 1795, he made a memorandum in his note book: "God gave me the desire to unite myself to the Society of the Sulpicians. Communicating this to Mr. Nagot, he advised me to refer the matter to our Lord; this desire continues as if it were already accomplished." The Society, with the approval of Bishop Carroll, enrolled him as a member on February 13th, 1795. He took no vows, however. He was ordained to the priesthood on March 18th, 1795. He was the second priest ordained in the United States by Bishop Carroll and the first to receive all the orders from him. Father Baden, who had come to the United States with minor orders, had been ordained on May 25th, 1793. In view of the fact that Gallitzin was known as Augustine Smith and was adressed under this name even by his mother in their correspondence, it is interesting to note that he was ordained, according to the ordination record, under the name of Gallitzin "otherwise known as Smith."

Gallitzin, now known as Father Augustine Smith, was given Port Tobacco as his first mission under the direction and guidance of Rev. James Pellentz, S.J. Whether he resided at Port

Tobacco or resided at Conewago and visited Port Tobacco, which is more probable, is not clear. He did not hold this position long, however. His hard studies and his ascetic life in the seminary had already injured his health and his zeal on the mission soon broke him down completely. He developed a fever and got into rather a precarious condition which gave great anxiety to his Bishop.

On April 17th, 1795, Bishop Carroll wrote him: "Reverend and dear Sir: The arrival of Rev. Mr. Napier and your messenger yesterday evening relieved our minds from much anxiety and many fears concerning you. You ought to have given us early notice of your delay and where you were. Though the account of your illness as expressed in your letter gives me much concern, I feel much more in observing how unsettled your mind is and how often you vary your projects. If you would have given yourself time for reflection it would have been evident to you that your last proposal cannot be complied with; for if even there were not sufficient cause for not adhering to my plan of sending you to Conewago, yet you could not be left at Zachariah [Zachio?] but must be placed at Baltimore, otherwise the Germans here, who are now much displeased with me without any good reason, would then be justifiable in their dissatisfaction. Until very lately you attributed your indisposition to a sedentary life in the seminary and expressed a wish of living in the exercise and wholesome climate of Conewago; which it is my full conviction would soon restore your health, if, as I would direct, you would not be employed in hard service til you recovered your strength. Mr. Brosius, who leaves me to-day, and is exceedingly mortified at your proposal (with which he became acquainted as soon as I read Mr. David's letter, and before I saw your request that it should remain secret), tells me that you may afford him and his companion very great relief without having any hard work that could distress your health; and I cannot think that you are either so much attached to other places of residence, or so regardless of the consequences which will ensue to Mr. Brosius, by your continued objections to sharing his labors as to leave him and Mr. Pellentz under their present distress. It is true that you always express a determination to submit to my orders; but it is painful to a superior to lay on orders when,

after a full manifestation of his will, he finds difficulties continually thrown in his way. You say I may send Mr. Eden to Conewago, and he may be replaced by Mr. Maréchal. But if I had the power to compel Mr. Eden to leave his place and accept of Conewago, would it become me to require this of a priest who for several years has been laboring in all the hardships of long rides, and the service of many congregations, merely for the sake of freeing a young man, who has not yet commenced his career, from the burden of duty?

"You cannot infer from your present state of health that it will not improve at Conewago. In my opinion your present weakness was brought on by your undertaking the long rides from Baltimore to Georgetown, and thence to Port Tobacco during Lent, and with the risk of meeting poor diet on your journey, and above all by your great imprudence in persisting to leave St. Thomas Manor on such a day as you started from it. To me it would be a wonder if, after it, you had not a severe spell of sickness. I am sorry to be so averse to your wishes; I wish to be much more the father than the superior of the clergy under my jurisdiction; but I cannot be partial in my favors, and forget a paternal care of those who have been and are laboring for the good of souls that I may gratify the wishes of younger men. I am likewise to consider myself the father of the faithful in my diocese and distribute the assistance which can be offered them in the best manner which my judgment can direct and conscience approve. Under the influence of these, I persist in requesting you to acquiesce in your appointment to Conewago and consequently of coming hither as soon as can be consistent with your strength and convenience. As I shall leave town in eight or ten days, it is of importance that you be here before that time. I am, with esteem and great affection, reverend and dear Sir, yours most sincerely." (*Ibid*, pp. 97-98.)

Bishop Carroll took him into his own house in Baltimore and had him preach to the Germans in Baltimore. He remained in Baltimore for probably a year and possibly longer. After he had recovered his health, he went to Conewago where he remained for two or three years. From Conewago he visited Taneytown, Pipe Creek, Hagerstown and Cumberland in Maryland; and Chambersburg, Path Valley, Shade Valley, Huntingdon and

the Alleghany Mountains in Pennsylvania. Apparently it was from Conewago that he made his first trip to the Alleghany Mountains at the direction of Father Pellentz. Both Father Pellentz and Father Felix Brosius had been making trips to the Alleghany Mountains and on one occasion Father Pellentz had gone all the way to Greensburg.

The first trip was to visit a Mrs. Burgoon, a Protestant, who was ill and wanted to become a Catholic. It probably took place in September, 1795. In a letter to Bishop Carroll of date of February 5th, 1801, Gallitzin writes: "Your Lordship knows besides that I have always had a permanent inclination to the backwoods ever since the first time the Rev. Mr. Pellentz deceased sent me there, which was about five years ago last September." (*Ibid.*, p. 133.) There is other evidence that Gallitzin was in touch with the people in the Alleghany Mountains as early as 1795. In October, 1795, he entered into an agreement with William Holliday for a tract of 320¾ acres of land on the waters of Chest Creek and Clearfield Creek in Alleghany township, called Hempfield, and paid for it in part. The purchase price was 328 pounds. William Holliday gave and executed a bond in Huntingdon County for 619 pounds ten shillings as a guarantee for fulfilling the contract. At that time he did not yet own the land, as he only got the patent for it on May 6th, 1796. He died before making a deed and the deed was made by his executors on December 1st, 1800. (Records of Recorder of Deeds, Huntington Co., Pa.) Father Gallitzin in 1802 sold 104 acres of this tract to John Rock, 100 acres to John Weakland and 70 acres to William Weakland at about the same price per acre which he had paid (*Ibid.*).

There was a fair-sized colony in the Alleghany Mountain district before Father Gallitzin took up his residence there. Fifty-five baptisms are recorded in the baptismal records of Loretto prior to 1800. Twenty-nine of these were prior to 1795. The names are: Elizabeth Luther, in 1770; Robert Cassidy, in 1775; John McCartney and Sarah Steiner in 1782; Margaret Longstreth, in 1784; Philipina Miller in 1785; Elizabeth Reinzel in 1786; Margaret Cramer, Valentine Reinzel and Margaret McCartney, in 1787; John Greiss in 1788; Robert Jack, Anna Jackson, Christopher King, Elizabeth McCartney and

Anna Reinzel in 1790; Elizabeth Mardis, Rachel Hall, Michael Green, Matthew Aegidius Churchill and Elizabeth Wertz, in 1791; Elizabeth Means, Mary Rhodes and Mary Reinzel in 1792; William Hudson in 1793; Thomas Coleman, Rhode Anderson, Rose McCartney and Eva Reinzel in 1794. The twenty-six names after 1794 are: William Coleman, in 1795; John Anderson, Jacob Elliott (colored), Mary Hagen and Anna Mary Luther in 1796; William Todd, David Wolf, Michael Brown, David Crosby, John Keech and Anthony Lambach in 1797; James Murray, Mary McIntyre, Catharine Hoak and John Beighley in 1798; Daniel Todd, Magdalen Reinzel, Daniel Keech, Daniel Harrin, Christopher George, Rebecca Gardner, John Bradley, Jacob Stark and John Stokes in 1799. Of two baptisms the exact date is not given: that of Sarah Steiner, who was probably baptized in 1798, and that of Elizabeth McIntyre, probably in 1799 (baptismal records transcribed by Rev. Ferdinand Kittell, now in the archives of the American Catholic Historical Society.)

According to these records, there were already forty Catholic families in this vicinity when Gallitzin went to live there. This is corroborated by a statement in Father Gallitzin's letter of February 9th, 1800, to Bishop Carroll in which he says that "the congregation consists at present of about forty families." Where the baptisms were administered and by whom does not appear in the records. It is probable that the people whose children were baptized were from Clearfield, Frankstown and Sinking Valley, since it was these people who petitioned Bishop Carroll for a permanent priest in 1799. Father James Pellentz, Father Dennis Cahill and Father Patrick Lonergan probably officiated in all the baptisms prior to 1793, and Father Felix Brosius and Father Louis Sibourd may have administered some of those between 1793 and 1799; and Father Gallitzin some of those between 1795 and 1799. Father Felix Brosius is recorded as having consecrated ground for burial in the settlement prior to 1796. Captain McGuire was buried in this ground on November 17th, 1796.

Father Gallitzin visited the scene of the Livingstone phenomena in Virginia in 1797 while residing at Conewago. He gives a fairly detailed account of this visit, from memory, in a letter

written on April 11th, 1839, to Mrs. C. G. Doll,* daughter of Richard McSherry, in whose house he spent part of the time on the visit. He states that he remained at the place from September until Christmas, investigating the matter,and that he wrote a very detailed account of it, including statements of witnesses whom he carefully examined and cross-examined. He went there a skeptic but became thoroughly convinced of the actual occurrence of the phenomena by the testimony which he received. He records that Rev. Dennis Cahill sprinkled the house in which the phenomena occurred with holy water and subsequently said Mass in it, quieting the disturbance thereby. Livingstone, the man in whose house the trouble occurred, became a convert and a very devout Catholic.

Father Gallitzin either was given entire charge of Taneytown some time during the latter part of his residence at Conewago or was installed there as resident priest some time around 1797 or 1798. It was there he apparently got into trouble with the trustees and reached his final resolution to go into the backwoods. The trustees it would seem lodged a complaint against him with the Bishop. On August 20th, 1798 Bishop Carroll wrote him:

"As I see both sides of my people, I understood the whole affair (of their complaints) at once, and gave them no hearing, but sent them home with the admonition to do their duty and be obedient to their pastor; however, I will soon, during my visitation, come to Taneytown and investigate the matter. Of my own personal views in your regard I said nothing to them. I will mention them to you. I have already often admonished you, and others in whom you have perhaps placed more confidence, have urged you to try to win the affections of your congregations, to lead them by mildness, even here and there to overlook things which are not precisely as they should be, that afterwards you may correct them by gentle persuasion, instead of at once making use of your authority, and to carry that authority to its utmost limits. I repeat this exhortation and assure you that I have generally found this the best and most effectual way of doing, although the opposite course might for the moment create more

*_Life and Character of Prince Demetrius A. Gallitzin_, HEYDEN, appendix.

excitement, and more noisy applause, especially from those who are not for the moment the immediate objects of a hot and impatient zeal. And then, what a doctrine it is that all who are under your charge should be bound also to yield to every opinion you may have, to every proposal you make, without being permitted a question! If this were intended to be so, why should there be Bishops placed over priests, Archbishops and Patriarchs over Bishops and over all the Pope? Do not these degrees of the hierarchy show plainly an admission that each may judge wrongly and his decision be subject to revision?" (*Life of Demetrius A. Gallitzin, Prince and Priest*, by SARAH M. BROWNSON, pp. 109-110.)

Father Gallitzin had a very strong prejudice against trusteeism as it was practiced in the Catholic churches of that time. He had a supreme respect and a holy regard for things devoted to the service of God and when anything of this kind was misused or desecrated it stirred up a holy anger in him. On one occasion when he was saying Mass in Holy Trinity Church, Philadelphia, he was very much disturbed by a constant noise underneath him. After Mass he inquired the cause of it and discovered that the basement of the church had been rented by the trustees to a wine merchant who was rolling his barrels out during the time Gallitzin was saying Mass. One of the episodes at Taneytown which led to trouble was the grazing of a horse owned by one of the trustees in the churchyard around the priest's house. The trustee, when asked to discontinue this practice, was incensed at the interference. It was these things that made him want to settle in the wilderness. Much later in life he said to Father Henry Lemcke on one occasion: "I came here to run away from church trustees, church pews and all the other things connected with these and to get rid of them there was no other way except to begin in a new place with other methods than those established. Wherever a beginning had been made the whole affair was spoiled by imitation of Protestant practices." (LEMCKE, *Life of Gallitzin*, p. 157.)

It would seem that he visited the Alleghany Mountain district from Taneytown at intervals for at least a year before he located there. In his letter to Bishop Carroll of date of February 9th, 1800, in which he unbosoms himself of a grievance against

a Mr. Elder who had promised to buy some of his land and locate in the district and who had failed to live up to his agreement, he writes: "Mr. Elder went out with me to the backwoods last September was a year, in order to hunt for land, as he was reduced so low near Taneytown, that he could hardly raise the necessary subsistence for his family; he liked my land so well that after considering a few days on the subject, he resolved to buy it; and in the presence of five witnesses whose depositions I took down in writing, very lately, bound himself by a promise to buy my land after selling his own and to pay me four dollars an acre, fifty pounds down and fifty pounds a year, and to move to the said place, provided I would promise, after obtaining the Bishop's consent, to live there myself. I made this promise, in so far as I could make it, and promised besides of my free accord not to sell this place to anybody else, till after the expiration of one year from the day of our bargain, if Mr. Elder did not buy my land during that year. This I did in order to grant him time enough to sell his own land, as I thought it would take perhaps that much time before he could sell it, in consequence of this promise I lost two very great offers, soon after it; one of five hundred pounds cash, and another not near so great but far more advantageous than I got from Mr. Elder.

"Mr. Elder persevered in his notion without any apparent change, tried to sell the land; the spring following, actually sold it; and then finally consummated the bargain, by paying me the first payment in hand last August. It is true that he did not pay me the money himself, but got his son Basil, who lives in Baltimore to pay me. Instead of taking the cash from him I took fifty weight of coffee and some other articles which I wanted, and he moreover, instead of paying the balance in money, assumed the payment of debts which I had contracted in Baltimore to the amount. Basil, who lives at Mr. William Spaldings, can testify to the truth of this to Your Lordship. Soon after the consummation of our bargain, I went to the backwoods, and applied all the money I had collected for the payment of my debts, towards making an improvement on Mr. Elder's land, to-wit: building of a large cabin 24 foot by 20, and clearing of eleven acres of land, four of which I got sowed in fall grain, that Mr. Elder and his family might not have their bread to buy for the

following summer; and when Mr. Elder bought my land it had no improvement at all, nor was I bound by the articles of our bargain to make any, but considering the helplessness of his family and the hardships of moving in the woods; it was out of friendship to them that I took this trouble and deprived myself of the means I was possessed of to improve the place he was to live on himself." (*Amer. Cath. Historical Researches*, Vol. 1 N S., p. 298.)

Mr. Elder, apparently upon the advice of friends in Baltimore, moved to Kentucky, having been informed that that was a better place to go to. As Father Gallitzin had spent considerable money for Mr. Elder's comfort and convenience, he felt much aggrieved upon his return to Taneytown to find that Mr. Elder had changed his mind. The Basil Elder here referred to probably was the father of Archbishop Elder. Two members of this family did subsequently go to the Alleghany Mountains and we find the record of their children's baptisms in Gallitzin's register from 1802 to 1810. The children then baptized were those of James and Walter Elder, probably brothers of the Elder who moved to Kentucky.

It is probable that it was at Taneytown that Father Gallitzin met the Maguires, who had been going to the mountains for some years on hunting expeditions and who owned some land adjoining that which he himself had purchased in 1795. Captain Michael Maguire, a Revolutionary soldier, had donated some land for Church purposes and it was part of this which Father Felix Brosius consecrated as a cemetery. The first baptism of a Maguire recorded in the district is that of Rachel, on July 21st, 1801, and the second that of Mary Anne, in September, 1801. Rachel was the daughter of Michael and Patient Maguire and Mary Anne the daughter of Richard and Eleanor Maguire. Michael and Richard must have been sons of Captain Michael Maguire, who already had died in 1796.

Whilst Father Gallitzin was planning and preparing to go into the backwoods of the Alleghany Mountains, his parents and friends in Europe were appealing to him to return to Europe. In June, 1799, his father, who had become reconciled to his son's action and began to admire him for it, wrote him urging him to pay a visit to his parents, who were getting old. His friends

begged him to come back to his old home, where his worth would be recognized and where honors in the Church commensurate with his position in life would be accorded him. To all of these pleas and inducements he turned a deaf ear and pursued his determination to go into the backwoods to establish a Catholic colony which would be Catholic to the core from its foundation up. In his humility, piety and ardent zeal he failed to recognize his shortcomings in temperament, education and experience for such a task and to realize what trials and sorrows would be bound to come to him in consequence of them.

On March 1st, 1799, Bishop Carroll wrote him from Washington: "I fear you have been disappointed in not receiving an earlier answer to your letter which covered a list of subscribers in Clearfield, Frankstown and Sinking Valley. I had come hither on business immediately before the arrival of yours at Baltimore. Your request is granted. I readily consent to your proposal to take charge of the congregations detailed in yours, and hope that you will have a house built on the land granted by Mr. Maguire and already settled (cleared?) or if more convenient on your own, if you intend to keep it. . . . Before I received yours my intention was to advise you of the notice lately given me by Mr. Egan that he would return to Ireland in the spring or summer. I meant to have offered to you with your present congregations that of Emmetsburg and the mountain (now Mount St. Mary's) united in one." (*Life of D. A. Gallitzin* by SARAH M. BROWNSON, p. 111.)

Father Gallitzin promptly availed himself of the permission of his Bishop and started for the Clearfield settlement in the summer of 1799, accompanied by a native of Lothringen named Noel, who carried his baggage. He at once set to work to build a church. On February 9th, 1800, he wrote to the Bishop from Conewago, where he was on a visit: "Our church which was only begun in harvest, got finished fit for service the night before Christmas; it is about forty-four feet long by twenty-five, built of white pine logs, with a very good shingle roof. I kept service in it at Christmas for the first time, to the very great satisfaction of the whole congregation, who seemed very much moved at a sight which they had never beheld before. There is also a house

built for me, sixteen feet by fourteen, besides a little kitchen and a stable. I have now, thanks be to God, a little home of my own, for the first time since I came to this country, and God grant that I may be able to keep it. The prospect of forming a lasting establishment for promoting the cause of religion is very great; the country is amazingly fertile, almost entirely inhabited by Roman Catholics, and so advantageously situated with regard to market that there is no doubt but it will be a place of refuge for a great many Catholics; a great many have bought property there in the course of three months passed, and a good many more are expected. The congregation consists at present of about forty families, but there is no end to the Catholics in all the settlements round about me; what will become of them all, if we do not soon receive a new supply of priests, I do not know. I try as much as I can to persuade them to settle around me." (*Ibid.*, pp. 121-122.) He further states in this letter that he is in a fair condition of health but weak and that he expects the healthfulness of the country and the quality of the provisions which it affords to make him stronger and enable him to undergo hardships. On July 15th he again wrote to the Bishop. In this letter he tells him that the congregation has increased considerably since he moved there and that he sees unequivocal signs of sincere repentance and conversion in some of the most inveterate sinners.

Soon after his location in the mountains Bishop Carroll thought of placing him at Lancaster, but later on, when he had a prospect of getting another man for Lancaster, Father Louis de Barth, who was coming to America partly through the instrumentality of Gallitzin's mother, he permitted him to remain in the mountains. Father Gallitzin was much disturbed by the rumor that he might be removed from the mountains and greatly relieved when he found he might remain. On February 5th, 1801, he wrote to the Bishop: "I am happy to see that your Lordship has altered the resolution of removing me from here, which removal would be attended with the destruction of this new establishment. Catholics are gathering in from all quarters upon the promise that I made not to forsake them, in as far as I had it in my power to make such a promise. The plantation

will hardly be able in two years to maintain a priest, unless there is yearly as much money spent in the improving of it, as the congregation's salary amounts to. How then could a priest subsist here, during that time, except it be one that has some permanent income to depend upon, independent of what the congregation could make up? Between clearing of land, building and purchasing all the necessary furniture of the church, the house, and the place, I have sunk in about sixteen months almost four hundred pounds, though I do not accuse myself of a great many useless expenses." (*Ibid.*, pp. 132-133.)

The money which he spent on these improvements came from his mother who at the time herself was not well off. His sister, in a letter written to him in October, 1800, states that his mother borrowed two hundred dollars from Rev. Dr. Stolberg to send him, although at the time she saw no way of repaying the loan. The mother's heart had been touched by his call for help and with a mother's love she got the money from a friend to whom she could give Divine Providence as security. What the mother could send him was insufficient for his wants. In a letter to Bishop Carroll on July 15th, 1800, he writes, after enumerating some of the expenditures which had exhausted his finances, and referring to disappointments which he had experienced: "All these different circumstances make it necessary for me to apply to your Lordship for a little help; I understood that your Lordship has to dispose of a certain sum of money (probably the legacy of Sir John James) that is sent here (for the support of missionaries) every year from England. I trust you will not forget me for the next year, or even for a couple of years, in the distribution of the said money, especially as I have spent all my own, improving the church place, and neglecting to improve my place." (*Ibid.*, p. 129.)

The disappointments here referred to probably were caused by the failure of money which had been sent him from Europe to reach him. On account of the disturbed state of the continent of Europe at that time, transmission of money was extremely difficult and hazardous. Perhaps his father's conduct was also a cause of disappointment. His father declined to extend him any aid and apparently took it for granted that he had cut himself loose from his patrimony. In a letter written about this

time the father reminds him that he had renounced his interest in his father's estate by his choice of a profession as well as by repeated declarations. In reply he writes to his father that he has not renounced his claim to succession to the temporal estate and that he still hopes to get his inheritance. It was this hope of ultimately getting what belonged to him that made him so lavish in his expenditures on improvements in the settlement.

The rapidity of growth of this Catholic settlement after Gallitzin had located there is indicated by the number of baptisms administered each year and by the new names which appear in the baptismal record. There were ten children baptized in 1800; thirteen in 1801; twenty-four in 1802; nineteen in 1803; twenty-eight in 1804; thirty-three in 1805; thirty-one in 1806; fifty-six in 1807; forty-three in 1808; forty-seven in 1809; and forty-six in 1810. Besides these there were thirty during the eleven-year period for which no exact date is given in the records. In all there were three hundred eighty baptisms administered during this time. The names in the baptismal record bear testimony to a large influx of new people.

In August, 1802, Father Gallitzin applied for citizenship to the court in Huntingdon, which was still the seat of government of the mountain district. He made his application in the name of Augustine Smith. He had not yet revealed his identity to his parishioners and he was still known in the world as Father Smith. All of his property was held in this name.

His father died rather suddenly in 1803 and this made a trip to Europe somewhat urgent. On March 26th, 1803, his mother wrote him: "I inform you in haste that it pleased the dear God to call your father from us on the 16th of March. He died from hemorrhage, which lasted only three hours, having that very day, and only a few hours before, written us that he was well. He left no will, so it is very urgent that if you cannot come at once, you should send me power of attorney, because not even the personal property, which is at Brunswick, can be had (for the Brunswick government put a seal on everything immediately after his death) unless we three, you, Mimi and I can show ourselves living and claiming it, either in person or by power of attorney. I must, in any event, produce a power of attorney in Russia. In fact, I am, by my marriage contract the

usufractory (usufructuary) of the whole of your father's wealth, and after my death you two shall inherit it; but this contract was not made in Russia, and it is therefore very possible that your father's brother and nephews, may discover something in the Russian law to put obstacles in the way of your inheriting it, especially as so many believe you have become a monk, and therefore cannot inherit property." (*Ibid.*, p. 144.)

For a while he thought seriously of going to Europe, not from selfish motives but because he did not wish to sacrifice the wealth which belonged to him by right and which he could use so advantageously in the interest of religion. His friends in Europe implored him to come and his friends in the United States urged him to go, but after long and serious consideration he decided that duty demanded of him to remain at his post. On June 26th, 1803, he wrote to his mother: "I dare not think of it. My heart trembles with love; it seems to me as if I absolutely must see you once more in order to leave the world in peace. God knows what is best in this, and will tend most to His honor; but according to all appearances it does not seem as if it would soon be possible. The number of priests is becoming smaller instead of greater and the Catholics are increasing. I know that you are entirely satisfied with God's Will, far more than I am, and that you ask to see me only on the other side of the grave, in the bosom of the Heavenly Father." (Letter published by Miss Brownson, p. 143.) To those who urged him to go to save his inheritance, he replied that he could do no more in person than he could do by power of attorney and that long absence from his people would be ruinous to his colony and damaging to religion. His mother fell in line with his views. Her reaction is shown in a letter written to him on July 24th, 1804: "Hard as it comes to my mother-heart to renounce the hope so dear to it, of embracing its beloved son, I can say with truth that your letter which gives me the information bestows upon me the greatest consolation I can desire upon earth. Every line of it is in unison with my own sentiments and wishes." (From letter published by Miss Brownson, p. 152.) His colony at this time was in the bloom of development and prosperity and needed him very badly.

In 1804 Father Gallitzin was one of the incorporators of St. Augustine's church in Philadelphia. The others were: Rev. Dr.

Carr, O.S.A., president; Rev. John Rossiter, O.S.A., St. Mary's Church, Fourth Street; Rev. Michael Hurley, O.S.A., secretary; and Rev. Louis de Barth. Father Gallitzin's name is entered as "Rev. Demetrius, Prince Gallitzin, alias Augustine Smith, secular." He continued to serve as trustee of the church for many years. (*Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, Vol. 1, p. 209.)

In 1804 a movement was started, partly through the instrumentality of Father Gallitzin, to create a new county in the mountain district for the convenience of the settlers, with a county seat on top of the mountain. Father Gallitzin laid out a town on his land, partly for the convenience of tradesmen and mechanics who were coming into the district and also, no doubt, partly with the hope of having the town made the county seat of the new county. He called it Loretto. About the same time as Gallitzin Rev. Morgan J. Rhees, a Welsh clergyman, came into the mountains with Welsh settlers and formed a colony a little west of Gallitzin's settlement. They laid out a town near Black Lick Creek which they called Beulah and later on another town between Black Lick and Loretto, about five miles west of Loretto, which they called Ebensburg. The county was not established until 1807. In the contest for the county seat, in which Gallitzin made strenuous efforts to secure it for Loretto, his Welsh neighbors won out against him and it was placed at Ebensburg. Ebensburg was a little bit more favorably situated for the purpose of a county seat than Loretto because it was on the new public road over the mountain which had been laid out by the State, whilst Loretto was three miles away from it, but it would seem that Gallitzin's failure was partly due to the disloyalty of some of his own parishioners.

Father Gallitzin, at his own expense, established a great many public conveniences and agencies for comfort and prosperity in his settlement and these attracted people from all over the country. In 1804 he erected a grist mill run by horse power and in 1806 he changed it into a water mill. He also put up a tannery. He took the agency for the sale of land from Henry Drinker & Co., Philadelphia, and he helped people in their transactions in real estate. He ran a successful farm and had a large barn in which he could store grain and food for animals

and he was always ready to help out people who were caught short in these commodities. He made himself everything to everybody and helped his people in every way. When he went on trips away from home he made purchases for them and often permitted them to pay for them at their convenience. These friendly acts extended to the most intimate things in life, as is shown by a note book still in existence in which are recorded purchases of such trivial articles as hats, household articles of various kinds, for the women of his congregation who could not go to the market for themselves. (This note book was in the possession of St. Xavier's Academy, Beatty, Pa., some years ago. Extracts from it have been published by V. Rev. Thos. C. Middleton, O.S.A., in Vol. IV, *R. A. C. H. S.*, pp. 1-36.)

A great many Irish people came into the settlement and soon the Irish predominated. An analysis of the baptismal records up to 1807 reveals that fifty-nine new families moved into the settlement between 1804 and 1807 and of these twenty-six were Irish. In the records for the entire time prior to 1804 only thirty-one distinctly Irish names occur. This sudden influx of Irish brought with it problems and troubles which embittered Father Gallitzin's life. His colony got beyond his control and ideas began to crop out and bear fruit which were at variance with what he thought a Catholic colony ought to be.

Some of the Irish got an idea that Gallitzin was a German. They wanted an Irish priest and, unfortunately, occasionally an Irish priest, now and then without faculties, drifted into the settlement and ingratiated himself with the Irish parishioners. Father Gallitzin was a strict disciplinarian and sometimes was rather quick and harsh in his exactions of becoming conduct in church and even outside of the church as regards ebriety, becoming dress in women and scandalous conduct in men. He was very wary of wolves in sheep's clothing and gave a rather cold reception to priests who came into his settlement without having been sent by the Bishop. This created a situation in which it was easy for a vagabond priest, whether in good standing or bad, to make trouble in the settlement and bring about an opposition to Father Gallitzin and his methods. Whisperings from such a source that Father Gallitzin's methods were too severe and that it was not within his functions to meddle with

private affairs outside of the church easily led to discontent, rebellion and finally open opposition to Father Gallitzin's rules and regulations and the religious practices which he had inculcated. Discord sprang up in the parish and divided it into factions.

Fuel was added to the fire of discontent and opposition to Father Gallitzin's methods by the disappointment of some of his parishioners in failing to realize their political ambitions which they, perhaps with some reason, ascribed to his interference. Some of the Irish settlers joined an ambitious Irishman in locating a town alongside of the new highway about three miles from Loretto. They called this town Munster, in commemoration of Munster in Ireland. Apparently they looked forward to getting an Irish priest for this new settlement. Some of the men had the ambition to fill the new offices which were to be created for the new county. Father Gallitzin, realizing that a town so near Loretto, made up of people who chafed under his discipline and put there in part to foster an opposition to the principles which he taught, would interfere with his plan of establishing a truly Catholic colony, opposed the location of the new town by all the moral influence which he could command. He also used all the resources at his command to prevent the members of his parish whom he deemed unworthy to hold office from getting the new offices of the county. He was unable to prevent the location of the new town but he did succeed in keeping some of the men who wanted to control the county out of office.

Father Gallitzin was still known to his people as Father Augustine Smith. A man of some rank who had known him in his native country, at odds with fortune, sought out Gallitzin in the mountains and was received kindly by him. When Gallitzin discovered, however, that this man came to prey upon him, he made his entertainment of him less friendly. The man, in his chagrin, began to circulate tales about Father Gallitzin's identity which, when told in whispers throughout the settlement, gradually took on scandalous colorings. Imaginations ran riot and evil tongues kept pace with them. Even friendly, innocent people began to wonder who he really was. Intrinsically meri-

torious acts were misconstrued and false interpretations were placed upon them.

He was much concerned about the education of the children of his people and for the purpose of bringing it about tried to form a religious community of women. In a tentative way he selected a young woman of his parish with a fair education to head and lead the movement. The project did not meet with the approval of some of the people and was opposed by the family of the young woman who had been selected to be the head of it. This young woman's mother, a widow, not only objected strenuously but made it so unpleasant for her daughter that Father Gallitzin had to take the daughter into his own house for a time to protect her against persecution. He built a house for the little community and might have been able to carry his plans into execution except for the opposition which arose. As it was, the undertaking failed and the women who formed the organization separated, their leader going to Maryland where she subsequently got married.

Complaints and tales about Father Gallitzin were carried to Bishop Carroll in Baltimore. Matters assumed such a serious aspect that the Bishop sent Father Helbron from Westmoreland County to Father Gallitzin's district to look over the field and make a report. This report evidently completely exonerated Father Gallitzin, for on November 30th, 1804, the Bishop wrote to the congregation of Clearfield: "It seems to be necessary to acquaint my dear children in Christ, the faithful composing the congregation of Clearfield, who are under the pastoral care of Rev. Mr. Smith, that I am not unacquainted with the uneasiness which prevailed for some time between the Rev. gentleman and some of the individuals of his congregation. Every inquiry that could be made at so great a distance, has convinced me that Mr. Smith throughout the whole business, was influenced by the best motives of Christian charity, and zeal for the welfare of those, who were given to him in charge; that he insists on nothing at present, which ought to be an objection to an entire reconciliation; that he is willing to act towards all persons of his flock with fatherly tenderness; and that they ought to give him assurances and proof of their confidence and willingness

to profit by his services. They should, moreover, be thankful to him for undergoing so many hardships on their account, and depriving himself, for God's sake and their sake, of the many temporal advantages he might elsewhere have enjoyed." (*Life of D. A. Gallitzin* by SARAH M. BROWNSON, p. 202.)

For the moment the Bishop's letter re-established confidence in the rank and file of the people and discomfited the leaders of the revolt. Peace did not reign long, however, for Gallitzin stood in the way of men who cared very little for religion and had big ambitions for material prosperity and political success. The situation was made more difficult by an Irish priest who proffered his services to Gallitzin as an assistant and was turned down because he had not been sent by the Bishop. A movement was now started to have Gallitzin removed in order that the leaders of the opposition to him might get whom they wanted. Scandalous tales were carried to the Bishop about him with this end in view. Word was passed around in the congregation that Fathers Louis de Barth and Dubois were coming as a delegation from the Bishop to investigate matters and to try Father Gallitzin. The matter came to Father Gallitzin's ears and he at once wrote to the Bishop to tell him that he would be very glad to have the Bishop's commission come up to investigate the situation but he objected to having certain men who were bereft of decency and had led scandalous lives appear against him as witnesses. The Bishop never sent the delegation and probably never had any intention of doing so. After patiently listening to the various committees which came down to him to complain against Gallitzin and convincing himself that the whole scheme was to get rid of Gallitzin for sinister purposes, he refused any longer to listen to complaints.

On December 12th, 1805, the Bishop wrote to Gallitzin: "I am sorry to learn that your tranquillity is disturbed by the complaints and dissatisfaction of some of your congregation, some of which have been laid before me. I have given no answer nor can give any to charges so vague as are contained in the letter to me. The principal one though generally expressed, is your interfering with the private concerns of your flock, taking a part in their disagreements, deciding on the charatcer of those con-

cerned, without hearing, or speaking to the party against whom you decide. This, perhaps, may be sufficient clue to find out to what particular fact this complaint refers. I expect from the style in which the complaint is made, that it is to be followed by a formal appeal to my episcopal authority, and therefore hope that you will furnish me with such information as you may deem necessary." (*Ibid.*, p. 204.)

The fomenters of trouble in the congregation, who had set about having Father Gallitzin removed, persisted in their machinations and kept on sending slanderous tales to the Bishop. One of the stories they carried to him was that Gallitzin carried arms. In a letter of February 23d, 1806, the Bishop writes to Gallitzin: "It was very painful to me to read that threats denounced against you induced you to be always armed. I dare not give any positive directions on such a subject, without investing myself with your feelings, and seeing the danger surrounding me as nearly as you do. But my general feeling is that a pastor is best protected by the respect, love, and esteem of his parishioners, and possessing these as you do of almost all under your fatherly care, it ought not to be expected that any would be so desperate as to use violence towards you. Though St. Paul enumerates his incessent dangers '*in periculis latronem, periculis in via, periculis in solitudine* and *in falsis fratribus*,' yet we read not of his arming himself against them, but he adds that the Lord delivered him from them all. Possibly other times and places may demand other precautions, and what is written above is no more than a recommendation to you to consider whether you cannot substitute some other defense more consonant with your character of minister of peace. If you should unfortunately be rudely attacked and under the influence of a sudden movement of passion make an unfortunate use of your arms, as it is so uncommon for a clergyman to carry them the same malice which now persecutes you would be redoubled and allege it as a presumption of premeditated assault. Your fortitude and sacrifices under so many trials excite my admiration; I cannot think without veneration of a person of your education, habits, and former prospects for life, devoting himself to the painful services which employ you so entirely, and expose you to the ingratitude

with which your services are sometimes requited." (*Ibid.*, pp. 206-207.)

Father Gallitzin made long trips through the wilderness and often had to remain out in the woods over night. Wild beasts were still very prevalent in the forests of Pennsylvania at that time and he may well have carried arms to protect himself against these. Whether he carried arms for protection against the men who were persecuting him or not, does not appear, but even in this he might well have been justified, for his enemies were rough frontiersmen and showed by their acts that they were capable of using extreme measures for the accomplishment of their purpose. On one occasion they came into the church as Father Gallitzin was about to begin Mass and threatened to put him out of the church. He calmly told them that he would proceed to offer up the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and that no one must profane the church or insult Christ present on the altar. If any man raised hand or foot to take him from the altar, that man some day would send for him and he would not be there. This kept the disturbers at bay and for the time being nothing happened. On another occasion they attacked him in his house and probably would have done him violence except for the timely appearance of one of his faithful parishioners who had the reputation of being the strongest man in the district. This was Mr. John Weakland, one of the pioneer settlers who idolized Gallitzin. Picking up the limb of a tree, Mr. Weakland said to the men that unless they departed in peace he would lay to with his club and that if they again disturbed the pastor he would look them up and give them what was coming to them in physical punishment. The intruders left.

A document in the archives of Baltimore of date of April 24th, 1807, addressed to Bishop Carroll and signed by a hundred and twelve male members of Father Gallitzin's parish, shows that nearly all of his parishioners were in harmony with him and were anxious to defend him against his persecutors. After naming the ringleaders in the persecution and reciting other matters, this document sets forth: "We have this comfort that the people that disliked him is not well liked themselves and further if your Lordship should be pleased to remove our pastor

we are very sure you would never have it in your power to send us one that would please us as well for we are as jealous as any people can be of the conduct of our pastor and would be as ready to see defects if there was any and as competent judges at least as any of his accusers." Then, by way of postscript: "Rt. Rev. Sir: We have a good deal more to say if it was necessary respecting our pastor and the sacrifices he made for the propagation of our religion in this back country and which Almighty God inspired your Lordship to send him to us, without a clergyman of his disposition and means this Country would have been in a wilderness yet which is all well known to your Lordship all which this rebellious Party overlooked." Then is added a statement signed by the trustees of the church which reads: "We, the undernamed trustees of the Roman Catholic Church of Loretto, Certify that all the Signatures of the above Instrument of writing are genuine having been present when the said Instrument was read to the Congregation we can certify that the Rev. D. A. Gallitzin went out of the way when said Instrument was read that he did not make use of any means either fair or foul to influence any of the members of this Congregation but left it entirely to their own option and that we saw almost the whole Congregation then present come forward very eagerly of their own free will entirely in order to sign their names." (Document kindly copied and supplied by Rev. Felix Fellner, O.S.B.)

Father Gallitzin finally took legal proceedings against some of his defamers and had them arrested on a bill of slander. Not only all of the decent people of his own parish but quite a number of Protestants of adjoining communities came to his aid. When the men who had been persecuting him saw that they would fall into the clutches of the law they sought cover and one after another made apologies and signed retractions, one going so far as to submit to public penance in church. One of the ringleaders wrote the following letter to Father Gallitzin: "My dear and Rev. Sir: The horror which I feel in the heinous crimes committed against your innocent character and the faults of my unsuspected heart, demands of me to humble myself before you and the congregation. First, I sincerely ask your pardon and pardon from the congregation in general, to my Lord the Bishop

of Baltimore I ask pardon, and to an injured and offended God I implore forgiveness and pardon. I am sincerely sorry from my heart [for] the many scandals I have committed by keeping bad company, and suffering myself to be deluded in believeing the most abominable lies against your innocence, and in joining in plots against your Reverence, and in being made the messenger of so many contaminated lies to my Lord the Bishop of Baltimore." (*Life of D. A. Gallitzin* by SARAH M. BROWNSON, p. 245.) All opposition to Father Gallitzin now faded away.

During the time of all this trouble and turmoil, Father Gallitzin got news of his mother's death. She died on April 27th, 1806, and although the news was immediately transmitted to him, he did not receive it until November. On November 11th, 1806, he wrote to Bishop Carroll: "Your favor of October 6th, Whitemarsh, and October 13th, Baltimore, I only received this morning, together with the enclosed letters from my sister, etc., announcing the doleful news of that fatal stroke which deprived me of a most tender and affectionate mother, and your diocese of a most zealous friend and protector. The flood of tears it drew from my eyes, were chiefly tears of joy and exultation at the happy exchange she made after long-continued sufferings of every kind. Thanks be to God, I was sufficiently prepared for the stroke by several letters previously received from friends in Baltimore, Philadelphia, etc., early in September. In conjunction with Rev. Mr. Heilbron, I celebrated her funeral during three successive days, in as splendid a manner as the narrowness of my circumstances admitted. The church was crowded and about forty dollars collected for Masses for her departed soul. As I wish to make a little offering for the benefit of her departed (though I trust already happy) soul, I beg your Lordship to accept of this watch, a most excellent one of its kind, and formerly belonging to my father; nobody in fact is more entitled to it than your Lordship who has been a father to me and more so than my real father according to the flesh." (*Ibid.*, pp. 216-217.) The Bishop was loath to accept the watch but Father Gallitzin insisted upon his taking it because, as he wrote the Bishop, he wanted to make a sacrifice for the benefit of his mother's soul.

How terribly his many troubles and the loss of his mother affected him is indicated by a letter which he wrote the Bishop in September, 1807: "My Lord: With a feeble and trembling hand and a sorrowful heart, full of the deepest and blackest melancholy, I take up the pen to give myself the comfort and consolation of addressing a few lines to your Lordship. I am hardly recovered from a severe spell of sickness which attacked me at Greensburg, and which has left me so weak that I can scarcely crawl about, and have not been able to begin as yet to say Mass again. Rev. Mr. Heilbron will be here to-morrow and stay with me a few weeks until I gain strength sufficient to discharge my duty. Permit me, dear Sir, to implore your patience and to beg of your Lordship to administer all the comfort and consolation your charity shall suggest to my poor broken and sorely afflicted heart. My constitution being weak, and my heart so susceptible of deep impressions from disappointments, losses, etc., I have been wonderfully low this great while and begin seriously to apprehend that my days will not be very long. I can better feel than describe the gloomy and melancholy state of my mind especially since the death of my mother, the remembrance of former times, her tender affection to me, her last dying expressions concerning me, my own solitary situation in the wilds of the Alleghany, my suffering and persecutions here, all seem to conspire to overwhelm me with sorrow and melancholy. O my dear Lord! for God's sake send me a companion, a priest to help and assist me, for my heart is ready to break. If you have one that even does not know one word of English, only for my comfort and consolation a good, virtuous clergyman, a friend to help me bear the burden." (*Ibid.*, pp. 250-251.)

How burdensome Gallitzin's work was may be gleaned from the extent of territory which he covered and the number of baptisms which he administered. The extent of territory may be read out of a letter which he wrote to Bishop Carroll on February 4th, 1805: "I am now at Augwick settlement, about seventy miles from home, travelling on a sleigh or rather sled from one valley to another until I go through all the congregations under my jurisdiction, which will keep me from home until the twelfth or thirteenth." (*A Memoir on the Life and Character of Demetrius A. Gallitzin* by RT. REV. THOMAS HAYDEN, p.

119.) Augwick lay to the east of his settlement in the mountains of what is now Huntingdon county. The number of baptisms which he administered was on an average about fifty a year. This, however, can only be taken as an indicator of his work in showing the size of his congregation. His people were zealous in the practice of their religion and the confessions which he had to hear were quite numerous. Moreover, he had to prepare the children for Sacraments and teach them catechism. Besides all this he had sick calls, marriages and funerals. He was, moreover, a real father to his people in all their sorrows and sickness.

The failure of his enemies to gain their point led to an exodus from the settlement. This reduced his burdens to a slight degree but lessened his worries and sorrows to a very great degree. In his letter to Bishop Carroll of June 20th, 1807, he writes: "We now enjoy perfect peace and quietness; not a loud word is heard; all their plots (they find) are defeated, and turned against themselves; they all wish to extricate themselves; every one tries to clear himself and blames his neighbor for leading him astray. Some have sold their places and are gone, others are in the way of selling and in a short time, thanks be to God's mercies, our settlement will get rid of one of the most corrupted set of villains that ever disgraced the Church, who endeavored to engross into their own hands all the most important offices of our new county, from which calamity, however, my persevering endeavors have fortunately delivered our poor country. This it was that drew the whole weight of their anger and revenge upon my head and caused one of the blackest conspiracies to be instituted against me which human malice, assisted by the power of hell, could devise. God be praised the storm has subsided, peace is restoring fast, and all the county offices will in a short time be filled with all the most respectable characters of the settlement, the ecclesiastical and civil authorities will then go hand in hand and mutually assist each other in promoting the public welfare and happiness. Amen." (*Life of Demetrius A. Gallitzin by* SARAH M. BROWNSON, pp. 245-246.) The number of baptisms dropped from fifty-six in 1807 to forty-three in 1808 and again rose to forty-seven in 1809.

Although Father Gallitzin was in debt and had been in more or less financial distress from the beginning of his foundation in

the mountains, he bought more land and went on with improvements, confident that he would get his inheritance. He had good ground for this confidence. His mother, before her death, had succeeded in securing her rights from the Russian government and constantly assured him that he would be provided for. After his mother's death his sister, who, under the Russian law, was to inherit the estate, gave him the like assurance. She wrote him a propos of the decision of the court against his right to inherit: "This sentence, which I know is perfectly in accordance with your feelings, and I can say also with your interest, leaves some uneasiness on my mind, for fear that I should be called out of this world before I can have sold the property and thus saved it for you, as the law does not give me liberty, either to give the property away, or to dispose of it by will. . . . The wish, then, to take the necessary measures to secure you in all contingencies, and the repeated assurances that this could not be done without my personal appearance here [in St. Petersburg] prevailed with me to undertake this long journey of six hundred leagues (eighteen hundred miles), notwithstanding the weakness of my health. . . . I repeat it, you may be quite easy. You are too good a brother to doubt of my goodwill, and of the sincerity of my affection for you, and I am sure, were the case reversed, that you would do all in your power for me." (Letter quoted by Sarah M. Brownson, p. 260.) His agents, Baron von Fuerstenberg, Count Stolberg and Count Mervelt wrote him on February 1, 1808: "Dear Prince: The question concerning your and the Princess, your sister's claims to your father's property in Russia, is so determined by the senate of Petersburg, that you, dearest prince, in consequence of your having embraced the Catholic Faith, and clerical profession, cannot be admitted to the possession of your deceased father's property, and that, therefore the Princess, your sister, is to be considered as sole heiress to the said estate, and is to be put in possession of the same. The Council of State has given the same decision, and the Emperor, by his sanction, given the sentence the force of law. The Princess, your sister, has now by the laws of Russia, perfect control over the income, but cannot give the property away, or dispose of it by will; however, she is at liberty to sell it, and to dispose of the money arising from the sale. You see then,

dearest prince that you are only nominally excluded. Your dear and respectable [respected] mother often thought it possible and even probable that the decision would fall out the way it did and was wont to say: *It is immaterial whether the sentence in Russia is pronounced in favor of both my children or only of my daughter my son can lose nothing by it.* Even in Russia the business is considered in the same light. We can therefore congratulate you on the happy issue of that business, without minding the killing letter of the law, whereas in this case the spirit of justice and charity makes up the loss to you." (*Ibid.*, pp. 258-259.)

In 1806 he replaced the grist mill which was worked by horses with one which was operated by water power. In 1808 he enlarged the log church and made it double its original size. The expense for all this he bore out of his own pocket. A deed on record in Cambria County dated January 28th, 1806, shows that he purchased a tract of 429 acres and 4 perches of land known as Content, from Michael and Rachel White for the sum of $1,280.00. This tract adjoined the tract which he had bought from William Holliday. On February 5th, 1812, he took title, from Charles Kenny and wife of West Chester, Pennsylvania, to 64 acres, part of a tract called Hopewell, situated on the head waters of Clearfield Creek. He paid $107.83 for this. On May 10th, 1813, he took title to 78 acres and 107 perches, also situated on the head waters of Clearfield Creek, from Luke and Richard Maguire and their wives for a consideration of $2,000.00. On May 17th, 1814, he took title to a tract of 314 acres and 118 perches from John Brownson and wife of Mercerburg, Franklin County, Pennsylvania, for a consideration of $1,600.00. On December 13th, 1819, Alexander McDonald assigned to him, 47 acres, the location of which is not given. On April 17th, 1822, he took title to 100 acres in Alleghany Township from James Mageehan and wife for a consideration of $600.00. (Record of Deeds in Cambria Co. Courtesy of M. D. Kittle, Esq., and Miss Helena A. Ivory, Esq.)

It would seem that he met part of the cost of these improvements and investments with money sent him from time to time by his sister and gave notes for the balance, looking forward to being able to pay these in the near future with money which

would come to him from his patrimony. His sister sent him $2,000.00 in 1806 and $1,000.00 in 1807. According to his diary, published by Rev. Father Heyden, he also received 5,000 rubles from her in each year in 1809, 1810 and 1811 but, unfortunately, the depreciation of these in the transmission from Europe to America reduced them respectively to $1,596.00 in 1809; $1,111.-00 in 1810; and $963.00 in 1811. He was counting on getting about $5,000.00 a year from his estate but the disturbed situation in Europe made it difficult for his sister to help him and after a time stopped his income from Europe altogether. How this happened is indicated in a letter from his sister of November, 1817, in which she writes: "You must not wonder that I have as yet sent you no money. You have learned the unfortunate situation about money from my last letter as also from many preceding it. In those letters you can easily picture to yourself what it means when I tell you that for six years I have not received a penny from Russia." (*Life and Works of Prince Demetrius Augustine Gallitzin* by FATHER HENRY LEMCKE, p. 250.)

His debt, trifling as it seems to us at the present day, probably stood in the way of his being made Bishop of Philadelphia when that diocese was created, a position for which he would have been well fitted. When the diocese was first thought of, Bishop Carroll mentioned his name in connection with it. There is a memorandum in volume I of Bishop Carroll's letter book at page 80, on date of January 17th, 1807, that the name of Rev. D. A. Gallitzin had been mentioned to R. P. Concannon for the episcopate of Philadelphia but that at that time Bishop Carroll was thinking only of presenting the name of Father Michael Egan.* When the see of Philadelphia became vacant through the death of Bishop Egan he was again thought of for the position. Archbishop Carroll wrote to Bishop Neal on September 27th, 1814, in reference to the see of Philadelphia: "I have the following persons principally in my views: The Rev. Messrs. David, Dubourg, Hurley and Gallitzin. . . . Of Mr. Gallitzin for many years I know but little, the load of debt which he has contracted and the uneasiness, thereby produced is a serious objection." (*American Catholic Historical Researches*, vol. 10, pp. 183-184.) It may well be that the Archbishop was subconsciously influenced

American Catholic Historical Researches, vol. 28, p. 137.

in his judgment by what he knew of the many difficulties and controversies which Father Gallitzin had had with his parishioners.

Father Gallitzin, having become a citizen of the United States, took a deep interest in politics both at home in the local government and throughout the country in the federal government. He took his citizenship seriously. He was a strong Federalist and a great admirer of Henry Clay. Charles Kenney of West Chester, who apparently was a friend of Father Gallitzin, the man from whom he bought some land in 1812, made an attack upon Father Gallitzin's political views in the "Aurora" and in Dickson's Intelligencer of Lancaster, under the name of Tyrconnel. He attributed to Gallitzin speculative opinions, pride of birth, early autocratic habits and the prejudice of education and accounted for his Federal principles by these. Father Gallitzin replied to him in Hamilton's Federal Gazette of Lancaster on September 30th, 1808. In his letter to Hamilton he signed himself "Demetrius Aug. (Smith) Gallitzin" and he put the same signature to his article. "I do not recollect" he writes, "having ever disclosed to Tyrconnel my speculative opinion with regard to the different forms of government; but considering his bold assertion a scheme to lessen my little share of influence, I shall declare my political principles with so much the more pleasure, as I think it a duty which I owe, as well to my adopted country as to the religion which I profess, to avoid every suspicion of disloyalty, and to repel the charge of being an aristocrat, or a monarchist, under a republican government. That holy religion which Tyrconnel and I profess teaches me submission to the constituted authorities, and submission not only for fear, but for conscience sake. . . . (a) the same religion teaches me that the constituted authorities are the ministers of God serving unto this purpose, (b) to-wit: unto the purpose of guarding our political welfare, of protecting our persons, our property, our characters, etc., and that as such they ought to be respected and obeyed. The same religion strongly inculcates the principle of loving and serving my country, of sacrificing cheerfully my private interest to the support of that government which protects and shelters me, and of losing all I possess in the world, rather than to betray my country.

"The same religion teaches me to respect in the highest degree the sanctity of an oath, and in particular of that oath by which I became a citizen of the United States, when in the most solemn manner I called upon the great God, the Searcher of hearts, to witness my attachment and my future fidelity to the Federal Constitution, and in particular to the Constitution of Pennsylvania. It teaches me that I am accountable to God for the use I shall make of those rights and privileges of citizenship secured to me by the Constitution, and that it is with the greatest caution, and under the influence of conscience, dictating upon as good information as can be procured, that I ought to give or refuse my vote. It teaches me that I am bound under the most sacred obligation (from which it would be criminal to depart) to vote into offices those who are likely to be political shepherds, the fathers, the guardians, the protectors of our people, and to keep out those wolves in sheep's clothing who are willing to sacrifice the public welfare at the shrine of self-interest; those who wish to raise themselves upon the ruins of a Constitution so wise, so completely calculated to secure happiness to all that live under it, a Constitution which secures to all (without distinction), to the poor as well as the rich, the unmolested enjoyment of the same privileges and liberties. A Constitution which respects as much the beggar's cottage as the President's palace. A Constitution that pries into no man's conscience; but leaves it to everyone's own choice to make the sign of the cross or not to make it, to read the Bible in Latin or in English, to go to Mass or to meeting. A Constitution which, even in the distribution of her offices, leaving the choice of proper subjects to the voice of the people, founded upon the principle *Vox populi vox Dei* (the voice of the people, the voice of God), shows that she knows no distinction between man and man, but that of merit and demerit. O happy Constitution! And happy those that live under her protection!" (*American Catholic Historical Researches*, vol. 18, p. 22.)

On December 5th, 1809, he petitioned the legislature of Pennsylvania to change his name from Smith to Gallitzin. It had become generally known that his real name was not Smith and it is probable that most people also began to find out something about who he really was. Besides, he held real estate in

the name of Smith and this might lead to confusion. The petition was presented to the legislature by Mr. McSherry of Adams County. It reads: "That your humble petitioner Demetrius Augustine, Prince of Gallitzin, having come to the United States about seventeeen years ago, solely with the intention of improving himself by travelling, and having in obedience to the dictates of his parents adopted the name of Augustine Smith, as they conceived that his name or title would or might expose him, when travelling through this and other parts of the world, to very considerable and useless expense:—your humble petitioner having afterwards abandoned the idea of returning to his own country, and having under his adopted name, Augustine Smith, by naturalization, become a citizen of the United States; finding, moreover, that his real name is known to a great many, which obliges him to make use of it on many occasions, and fearing that inconvenience, or, at least, trouble and uneasiness might arise to himself or others after him, with regard to the holding of real property or conveying of the same, etc., he, therefore, prays that your honorable body may enact a law to establish his name, Demetrius Augustine Gallitzin, so that he may under that name enjoy the same benefits and privileges to which be became entitled by naturalization, under the name of Augustine Smith, and your humble petitioner, as in duty bound, will ever pray, etc., Demetrius Augustine Smith." (*Life of D. A. Gallitzin* by SARAH M. BROWNSON, p. 290.)

The matter was referred to a committee consisting of Mr. McSherry, Mr. Bethel and Mr. Weiss and on favorable recommendation from it the following act was passed early in 1810: "Whereas it has been represented to the Legislature, by a petition of Augustine Smith, that he has been a resident of the United States about seventeen years, that his family name is Gallitzin, but, having assumed the name of Smith, he became a naturalized citizen under that name, therefore: Section I. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, that from and after the passage of this Act the aforesaid Augustine Smith is hereby authorized to resume the name of Augustine Demetrius Gallitzin, and under that name shall be capable in law to hold and

convey real estate, to sue and be sued, and to do all such other acts as he might have done under the name of Augustine Smith, and shall be entitled to like privileges and immunities as if he had been naturalized under the name of Gallitzin. John Weber, Speaker of the House of Representatives, P. C. Lane, Speaker of the Senate. Approved the 12th day of February, 1810, Simon Snyder, Governor." (*American Catholic Historical Researches*, vol. 18, p. 86.)

With the progress of time his financial distress became greater and gave him great mental anxiety. His sufferings were increased by certain misgivings about his sister's attitude towards him. Money which she had written about and which was to come to him through her agent did not reach him. The man who was to deliver it to him declared that he had never received it. In this state of mind he wrote to Bishop Carroll from Philadelphia on November 29th, 1809: "I feel very grateful [for] the interest which your Lordship seems to take in my truly distressful situation. I arrived in the city on the eleventh of this month very much fatigued and very much distressed in mind, not knowing how to extricate myself, or where to apply for assistance, as I was sensible that I had not that kind of security to offer which would induce even the wealthiest to lend money. . . . I applied to many, all pitied me, and lamented my case, but nobody thought himself safe in assisting me. Mr. A. promised help, and (without assigning any reason) recalled his promise. Left with only a couple of dollars in my pocket, the remainder of what I borrowed for travelling expenses, I was thrown into a state of despondency; the shock was so great, the anguish of my mind such, that I fainted upon Mr. Carrell's floor.

"Such was my situation for several days after I came hither, and such it would be yet, if Divine Providence had not interfered, having gathered up all my little store of faith, and made a little offering to Almighty God out of the remnant of my fortune, in a short time I found myself in possession of what will be sufficient to discharge my most pressing debts. John and Edward Carrell, Chief Justice Tilghman, Mr. Benjamin R. Morgan, a lawyer and a quaker, and Mr. Springer of our congregation, have agreed to lend me as much as will disengage

me from these pressing demands for the most of which there were judgment bonds against me, about two thousand dollars.

"Having received notice from a lawyer in Huntingdon that the judgments are due about the beginning of December, and not being able to spare any money, I am obliged to start immediately for Huntingdon, which deprives me of the very great satisfaction of seeing your Lordship. I am very uneasy for fear that unfavorable reports with regard to my circumstances, being, perhaps, occasioned by long absence, would cause my creditors to fall upon my property. I shall, therefore, leave the city next Saturday, December the second, and expect to reach home about the Saturday following." (*Life of D. A. Gallitzin* by SARAH M. BROWNSON, pp. 282-283.)

The cloud on the horizon of the affectionate relationship between himself and his sister manifests itself in some letters written by the sister to him and by Archbishop Carroll to him. After complaining of his harshness his sister writes: "However, we will say no more about it, I know that a very great distress will sometimes overcome us, and cause us to become very bad humored and full of suspicion. Only remain friendly and good to me and believe firmly in my sincere friendship." (*Ibid.*, p. 292.)

On October 17th, 1810, Archbishop Carroll writes him: "The enclosed letter from the Princess, your sister, though brought by the worthy Bishop Flaget, was not delivered to me for more than a month afterwards, with another for myself; and since I received them and knew of the importance of hers to you, I did not choose to send them before I had a safe and undoubted opportunity. Your sister desired me to read hers to you, and therefore did not seal it, and she desired me to efface such expressions, if any appeared in her writing, which might be thought disrespectful to you. However, I did not use this privilege for she exhibits evident marks of being most deeply and painfully affected by your displeasure, yet she never forgets that deference which she owes to you. Her heart is grievously wounded, but she retains all the warmth of sisterly affection. If she has been tardy in meeting and relieving your embarrassments, make allowance for her own, her health and necessary journeys, and the difficulties produced by the convulsive state of all public concerns in Europe. In a word, she deserves words of comfort from you,

and you, in obedience to the dictates of natural affection, as well as of Christian justice, ought to give them to her. Do not alienate her from you. . . . Show in your answer the feelings of a brother for the mortification you have caused her to suffer. I write this but a few days before the consecration of Bishops Egan and Cheverus and should be happy indeed if you could be here on that occasion." (*Ibid.*, pp. 292-293.)

Evidently Father Gallitzin took the advice of the Archbishop and made amends to his sister, for on April 8th, 1811, the Archbishop writes him from Baltimore: "I am glad to hear of your having written to your respected sister a consolatory letter. Her inexperience exposed her probably to place undeserved confidence in her agents, and as I often hear (merchants) say, the furious enmity of Bonaparte to commerce, and the shackles multiplied every day by him on its transactions, produce incredible difficulties, sacrifices, and losses in the remittance of money from one country to another. Impute, therefore, your disappointments not to her negligence or a diminution of her affection but to the real and irremovable difficulties she has to encounter." In this letter the Archbishop gives some interesting data in a gossipy sort of way: "The Rev. Mr. Enoch Fenwick now lives with me; he is a pupil of Georgetown, but lived one year at the seminary where perhaps you knew him. His brother, Benedict, is at New York with Mr. Kohlman. Mr. Dubourg, after suffering much from rheumatism, went to Martinico in the winter, proposing to return in May or June. The Rt. Rev. Bishop of Kentucky [Flaget] and Mr. David leave Baltimore for their destination the last of this month, passing by and taking boat at Pittsburgh. Mr. Heilbron's sickness gave me much uneasiness for that honest good man, a truly respectable German character. Mr. Elling died last week but one at Philadelphia, leaving, as I hear, his property to a nephew in Germany." (*Ibid.*, p. 295.)

From the very beginning of Father Gallitzin's life in America he attached himself closely to Bishop Carroll and looked upon him as his real father in Christ. He always took his troubles to his Bishop and looked to him for help and counsel. When the new diocese of Philadelphia was created he wrote to the Bishop on November 22d, 1808: "Whilst I thank Almighty

God for your Lordship's promotion, which adds so much to the lustre and dignity of the American church, I sincerely regret and lament my own fate in being no longer under the immediate jurisdiction of your Lordship, whose paternal affection, prudence, and authority have so often afforded me most powerful protection against the poisonous shafts of slander and persecution." (*Ibid.*, p. 272.) His distress at being taken from under the jurisdiction of his spiritual father and protector was aggravated by a fear that his new Bishop might remove him from the Catholic settlement which he had founded. Evidently he continued to write to Archbishop Carroll and lay his troubles before him, for in the Archbishop's letter of April 8th, 1811, the Archbishop writes him: "Mr. Wille arrived to-day with your favor of various dates, which I was indeed rejoiced to receive after so long interruption of our correspondence, but its contents respecting the deplorable state of your health abated much of the pleasure of hearing from you. Be assured that my endeavors shall not be wanting to urge Bishop Egan on the subject recommended by you, of sending a priest to your assistance: he may be more fortunate than I was in being able to do so. His countrymen may offer their services to him with a better assurance and reliance on their attachment than to me." (*Ibid.*, p. 294.)

Bishop Egan went to Loretto in 1811 to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation to Father Gallitzin's parishioners. The names of some of those who received this sacrament at this time are recorded in the memorandum book in possession of the Sisters of Mercy at St. Xavier's, Latrobe, Pa., already referred to. There also appear in this book the names of parishioners who made their Paschal Communion in 1810 and their Paschal confession in 1811 and 1813. There is internal evidence of incompleteness in these lists. Among those who were confirmed the names of entire families are given, sometimes including even the parents, but many names which appear in the baptismal records for all the years preceding do not appear in this list of persons who were confirmed. It is probable that all the children who had been baptized by Father Gallitzin prior to 1811 who could be brought to the church were confirmed, since some children as young as a half-year are recorded as having been confirmed. The lists of individuals who received their Paschal Communion in

1810 and made their Paschal confession in 1811 and 1813 indicate how closely Father Gallitzin kept track of his people and how vast was the work which he did. The list of Paschal confessions for 1813 has over six hundred names.

Father Gallitzin's good citizenship and interest in his adopted country are well illustrated by the encouragement which he gave to his parishioners to offer their services in the War of 1812. Richard Maguire, son of Captain Michael Maguire, who had served in the Revolutionary War, with the assistance of Father Gallitzin, raised a company of volunteers in the parish. Father Gallitzin helped him to drill the boys and when they were ready to present themselves for service he said a special Mass for them on the day of their departure and gave them all Holy Communion. He exhorted them to give faithful service to God and their country and sent them off with his blessing. On the day appointed by the President of the United States for fasting and prayer he held a special service in his church, offering up the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. He urged his people to give alms and do penance. Later on, when one of the boys who had enlisted, deserted and came home, Father Gallitzin received him in a way to show all his people his disapproval of such a cowardly act.

It was the day of fasting and prayer asked for by the President of the United States which brought Father Gallitzin before the public as a controversialist. A Rev. Mr. Smith of Philadelphia preached a sermon unfriendly to Catholics which attracted a good deal of attention. A Rev. Mr. Johnson of Huntingdon, inspired by Mr. Smith's action, likewise preached against Catholics. As Huntingdon was one of Father Gallitzin's missions, he wrote an open letter to Mr. Johnson and sent it to the Huntingdon *Gazette*, asking for a retraction of the slanders which Mr. Johnson had uttered. He received no reply from Mr. Johnson and consequently published a number of letters in the *Gazette* explaining the doctrines of the Catholic Church and answering some of the statements made by Mr. Johnson. The letters attracted much attention and were subsequently published in pamphlet form. Later on, in 1814-1815, the pamphlet was enlarged and given to the world under the title: "A Defense of Catholic Principles and a Letter to a Protestant Clergyman, by Rev. Demetrius A. Gallitzin." The booklet had a wide circula-

tion and led to many conversions. Among the converts in Gallitzin's own district were Hayden Smith, an architect, who subsequently drew the plans for a number of Catholic churches, and a Mr. Douglass, one of the prominent settlers of an adjoining district.

Two years later Mr. Johnson came out with a vindication of the Reformation in which he made an attack upon Gallitzin's publication. To this Gallitzin replied in 1817 with "An Appeal to the Protestant Public." In 1819 he brought out: "A Letter to a Protestant Friend on the Holy Scriptures, Being a Continuation of the Defense of Catholic Principles." In his preface to this he writes: "If I had any favor to ask of the Protestant minister, it would be that he would please continue to write against the Catholic Church, and to vindicate the doctrines of the Reformation. I promise to make a good use of his writings, and to draw from them a great deal of useful information, for the conversion of all sorts of Protestants to the Catholic Faith." (*Ibid.*, p. 316.) That this was no idle boast is indicated by a notice which Father Gallitzin inserted in the Cambria County *Gazette* in 1825: "A certain number of Protestants having manifested a great desire of becoming members of the Roman Catholic Church, I hereby acquaint the said Protestants, and the public in general, that I have appointed the second Sunday after Easter (17th of April), for admitting them into the Church, according to the rites and ceremonies of the Roman ritual." (*Ibid.*, p. 327.) Father Gallitzin's publications were put out in large numbers both in America and in Europe and earned for him a widespread reputation as defender of the Faith. When Rev. F. P. Kenrick was made Bishop of Philadelphia he wrote to Gallitzin from Bardstown on May 3d, 1830, and in his letter said to him: "I am consoled by the reflection that the diocese offers me several learned and zealous co-operators, amongst whom the *Defender of the Faith* holds a conspicuous place." (*Ibid.*, p. 377.)

Father Gallitzin's name came up with the creation of almost every new see. In the spring of 1815 Bishop Dubourg, in seeking to have Rome create new episcopal sees in the West, proposed Father Gallitzin for the vacancy which would occur in the see of Bardstown, in the event of Bishop Flaget being transferred to

St. Louis. Nothing came of it, as the changes were not made at that time. (SPALDING'S *Life of Benedict Joseph Flaget*, p. 166.) A few years later, when new sees were about to be created, Bishop Flaget wanted to propose the name of Father Gallitzin for the see of Cincinnati. When Father Gallitzin heard of it he wrote to Bishop Flaget declining the appointment and giving his reasons for doing so. Father O'Daniel says that Father Gallitzin's name was suggested because he could speak German. Bishop Flaget did not send in Father Gallitzin's name on account of his protest and Archbishop Marechal did not include it in the list of names sent to Rome. (*Rt. Rev. Edward Dominic Fenwick, O.P.*, by O'DANIEL, pp. 216-242.)

When the episcopal see of Detroit was thought of, Father Gallitzin's name again came up. It would seem that this time his friends confidently counted upon their cherished wish of making him a Bishop being gratified. Father Gabriel Richard when he made his will in 1821, made Father Gallitzin his heir in the confident hope that he would be Bishop of Detroit. "I hereby give and bequeath," he wrote, "all my real and personal estate, lands, houses, household goods, books, chattels, etc., of what kind or nature soever, which I will be possessor of in the United States of America at the moment of my death to the Rev. Demetrius de Galitzen, now residing near Ebonsburg on the Alleghany mountains in Pennsylvania, elected Bishop of Detroit, territory of Michigan, to enable him to found the bishopric of Detroit and a seminary for the instruction of his young clergymen," etc., etc. (*Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, Philadelphia, vol. 37, p. 361.) Evidently Father Richard did have some misgivings about the matter, for he wrote further in his will: "But in case of above named Rev. Demetrius de Galitzen being dead, or refusing his nomination to the bishopric of Detroit, I by this same my last will and testament do assign and substitute in his place the Rev. Joseph Crevier, rector of Maldron in upper Canada, and in case of his death or absence from the country, I assign and substitute Rt. Rev. J. B. Marchand, rector of the Assumption parish, opposite city of Detroit, and in case of his death or absence I hereby assign and substitute the Rt. Rev. Bishop J. B. Flaget of Bardstown, and the Rt. Rev. John David, coadjutor, both or any of them whom respectively the

said Joseph Crevier, J. B. Marchand and the said Rt. Rev. Flaget and the said Rt. Rev. David, I give in trust all my real and personal estate . . . to be disposed and placed into the hands of the first duly elected Bishop of Detroit (by the Sovereign Pontiff of Rome) or any of his lawful successors." (*Ibid.*, p. 362.)

When the time came for the see to be created Bishop Fenwick also suggested the name of Father Gallitzin for the see, but Archbishop Marechal demurred to the proposal. (*Rt. Rev. Edward Dominic Fenwick, O.P.*, by O'DANIEL, p. 276.) Archbishop Marechal's action may have been influenced by a letter which Father Gallitzin wrote him on October 28th, 1823, in a postscript of which he states: "I hope that you have received the letter which I had the honor to write you in the spring, in which I detailed my reasons for refusing the bishopric of Detroit. As your Grace did not reply to it, I took your silence as proof of your approbation. Indeed, if you knew the mission of Loretto you would agree with me that it is one of the most important in the United States, and that it would ruin it, and ruin me to remove me from this mission. When I established myself here in 1800 the entire county of Cambria was but an immense forest and almost impenetrable; by force of labor and expense (expenses which already reach to more than forty thousand dollars), I have succeeded, with the help of God, in forming an establishment wholly Catholic, extending over an immense extent of country, which is rapidly augmented by the annual accession of families who come here from Germany, Switzerland, Ireland, and from different parts of America. Now, to form my establishment, I have been to great expense in establishing the various trades which are the most necessary, so that I have part of my funds in tanneries, etc., etc., and it is impossible to withdraw them suddenly without ruining many families.

. . . Several years ago I formed a plan for the good of religion, for the success of which I desire to employ all the means at my disposal, when the remainder of my debts are paid. It is to form a diocese for the western part of Pennsylvania. What a consolation for me if I might before I die see this plan carried out, and Loretto made an episcopal see, where the bishop by means of the lands attached to the bishopric, which are very fertile, would be independent, and where with very little expense

could be erected college, seminary, and all that is required for an episcopal establishment! We have now a Bishop without having one, the great distance of Philadelphia, the dependence of the Bishop [*on the contributions of his flock*], his small means, the poverty of so many thousands of Catholics who are unable to reimburse him as they ought for visiting them, will remain for many years insurmountable obstacles, which would no longer exist if there was a diocese west of the mountains. It could be commenced by establishing a bishop here who would be merely *Vicarius in Pontificalibus* to the Bishop of Philadelphia, who would give great comfort by administering Confirmation in all parts of Western Pennsylvania; at the death of the Bishop of Philadelphia two dioceses could be formed. If your Grace would take the trouble to look over the map of Pennsylvania and take notice of the chains of mountains which traverse the State, the great distance from Philadelphia to the western extremity of the State on the other side of the mountains, your Grace would be of my opinion. . . .

"Permit me to add that no Bishop has ever penetrated to the distant missions of western Pennsylvania. Archbishop Carroll was on the way in 1802, but frightened by the horrible description they gave him at Chambersburg of the mountains, the roads, etc., he retraced his steps. Bishop Egan penetrated as far as Pittsburg and the neighboring congregations, but went no further. Bishop Conwell has not done so much. There are, then many missions which have never seen a bishop, and never will, at least not until a bishop is established on the mountains, and one willing to fulfil the duties of his charge, even at his own expense, without waiting for other recompense than that which comes from above. I hope that my experience of more than twenty years on these missions will be a guarantee to you that I speak with knowledge of the subject, and that I am animated with the sincere desire of advancing God's work." (*Life of D. A. Gallitzin* by SARAH M. BROWNSON, pp. 345-347.)

Father Gallitzin's congregation continued to grow not only by natural accretion from births, which in itself was quite large, but by the coming in of new settlers. The baptismal register has new names every year. Between 1811 and 1820 inclusive, a hundred new names appear in the record. The families were

large. Ten to twelve children in a family was a frequent occurrence. The enlarged church having become too small for the congregation, Father Gallitzin undertook to build a new one in 1817. A solicitation for subscriptions for money with which to build the church was sent out and this was signed by him as Demetrius Augustine Smith, parish priest of Loretto, and by six church wardens. The names of the church wardens were: Jacob Glass, Luke Maguire, Joseph Lilly, John Storm, John Weakland and Jacob Burgoon. The solicitation ran as follows: "The pastor and church wardens of the Roman Catholic Congregation of the town of Loretto, in the County of Cambria, request the aid of their benevolent brethren for the pious and laudable purpose of erecting a suitable church in said town, where, in a few years, the number of the faithful has so increased as to render the former place of worship (erected in the wilderness by the labors of their pastor), too small for the people; and the petitioners being unable, without assistance, to effect their desirable purpose will gratefully offer up their prayers to God for the spiritual and temporal happiness of their benefactors." (*American Catholic Historical Researches*, vol. 9, p. 54.)

With the fleeting years Father Gallitzin encountered new sorrows such, however, as come to every man sooner or later. Baron von Fuerstenberg, the dear friend of his mother and his own agent, passed away in 1810. Archbishop Carroll, his life-long friend and spiritual father, and the Reverend Francis Nagot, his director in the seminary, were called to their reward in 1815. With the death of Father Nagot, Father Gallitzin severed his official connection with the Sulpicians. He had retained his membership in the Society until then and had made the Sulpician house in Baltimore his home when he visited that city. Apparently the motive which actuated him in withdrawing from the Society was a fear lest the debt in which he was involved might be embarrassing to the Society. His dear old friend and adviser, Father Heilbron, died on April 24th, 1816. Count von Stolberg, another of his agents, died in 1819. Every one of these deaths was a blow to him for they took away from him people to whom he could confidently go for advice and on whose long friendship he had leaned heavily. Another sorrow and disappointment came to him in another way. His sister got

married to Prince of Salm-Reifferscheid-Krautheim in 1818, before she had been able to help him out financially.

Whatever ominous shock may have come to Father Gallitzin upon the announcement of his sister's marriage was soothed, for the moment, at least, by her assurance that her marriage would make no difference between them and that he would undoubtedly get his half of their father's estate. It was not long, however, before it became evident that his sister had not reckoned well with possibilities and contingencies. Her husband turned out to be a bankrupt and spendthrift. She was unable to do what she wanted to do and her prince husband, whom she perhaps trusted too much, even got in the way of Father Gallitzin's receiving financial aid which was extended to him by others. Count Mervelt, Father Gallitzin's surviving agent, apparently too trustful and unaware of what was going on, did not give Father Gallitzin the protection which he might have given. When Rev. Dr. Overberg, the saintly confessor of Father Gallitzin's mother, learned of Father Gallitzin's financial distress, he at once set to work to find relief for him. The Princess, at the time of her death, had given him a valuable collection of antique stones and gems, which had been bequeathed to her by Hempsterhuys, to turn into money for the poor. Dr. Overberg decided that he could not carry out the mother's wishes in any better way than by using what could be realized on this collection for the relief of her son. He gave the collection to Father Gallitzin's sister and her husband to be sold by them, the proceeds to be sent to Father Gallitzin. A purchaser was found in Father Gallitzin's baby-time playmate, King William of Holland, who, for sentimental reasons, gave a very liberal price for them, about $22,500.00. Although the collection was sold in 1819, none of the money reached Father Gallitzin until 1822 and then only $11,580.00. (Gallitzin's autobiography, quoted from by Father Hayden.) Father Gallitzin's mother also had left Dr. Overberg her library. Dr. Overberg turned over this likewise for the relief of Father Gallitzin. Father Gallitzin's sister died on December 16th, 1823. Before death she made a will in which she left the whole of her property to her husband with the charge that he pay Father Gallitzin ten thousand rubles and after all the debts had been paid, that he pay him one-third of the income of the

remaining portion of the property during the rest of his natural life. Apparently this direction of the sister in her will remained a dead letter and Father Gallitzin lost the balance of his patrimony upon which he had been counting all his life for meeting the obligations which he had assumed in the development of his Catholic colony.

Father Gallitzin, although notably a man of peace and of affectionate regard for his neighbor, had some of those legal conflicts which inevitably come to every man of large affairs. According to the court records of Cambria County, Cornelius Maguire brought action against him in 1808 in an appeal from Luke Maguire for a debt exceeding two pounds. Apparently this was for a tax bill which was disputed and it was settled in favor of Gallitzin. The heirs of William Holliday, namely, John, Joseph, Adam and Michael Holliday and Andrew Bradden and his wife Reba and Samuel Holliday and his wife Sarah, brought action against him and Peter Wile in March, 1810, for ejectment from four hundred acres of land in Alleghany township. This may have been in part the land which he had bought from William Holliday and for which William Holliday's heirs had made a deed to him. Father Gallitzin won out. A non-suit was granted on September 8th, 1813, and the costs were placed upon the plaintiffs. Catharine McConnell, Sarah McConnell, Elizabeth McConnell, Anne McConnell, Francis McConnell and Hugh McConnell, minors, by their guardian, Father Gallitzin, summoned James McConnell and Arthur McConnell to appear in court in June, 1815. The defendants entered a rule of reference at the July term and stated their determination to have arbitrators chosen in the prothonotary's office in Ebensburg on Tuesday, the 18th of August following, to determine all matters at variance between the parties in this suit. The matter was settled out of court. Boswell L. Colt brought an action against Father Gallitzin in December, 1817, for a debt of $2,900.00, being balance and interest of a debt of $5,000.00. A judgment was granted the plaintiff and the debt was settled and satisfied on November 28th, 1832. The trustees of Ebensburg Academy brought an action against him in January, 1821. This was an amicable procedure and was likewise for a debt of money lent. A judgment was given to the plaintiffs for $450.00 with interest after

six months. Luke Maguire and Samuel McMullen, executors of Michael Murphy, deceased, brought an action against him in September, 1823, for the use of Lawrence Murphy and John Rhey, agent and assignee of Stephen Atkinson and Hannah his wife, late Hannah Murphy, in a summons for debt on a bond not exceeding $2,000.00. The case was tried in January, 1833, when the jury gave a verdict of $585.80 for the plaintiffs. George Vaux, surviving obligee in a bond with William Drinker, deceased, brought an action against him in March, 1828, for a debt of $1,004.46 with interest from August 1st, 1818. A judgment was found for the plaintiff and Father Gallitzin satisfied the debt on January 28th, 1833. (Records of Cambria County Court. Copy kindly made by M. D. Kittell, Esq., and Miss Helena A. Ivory, Esq.).

Father Gallitzin's financial difficulties reached their culmination with the death of his sister and the defalcation of his brother-in-law. Friends came to his aid. Father Heyden gives it upon the authority of Gallitzin himself that the Holy Father sent him some money and that he received help from the Baron Francis of Maltitz, the ambassador of Russia to the United States. Father Heyden states that the Baron lent Father Gallitzin five thousand dollars and took his note for it. A year later, while Father Gallitzin was in Washington, the Baron gave a dinner in his honor to which he had invited Henry Clay and many distinguished citizens of Washington. Towards the close of the dinner Father Gallitzin spoke to the Baron about his note. At this the Baron drew the note from his pocket, showed it to Father Gallitzin and then deliberately lighted his cigar with it. (HEYDEN *Memoir of the Life of Gallitzin*, pp. 100-102.) The dates of these episodes are not given by Father Heyden and there is no known reference to them anywhere else. Father Gallitzin does not speak of them in the documents in which he speaks of his obligations to others. There is evidence that the Baron of Maltitz was a warm admirer of Father Gallitzin in a postscript to a letter written by the Baron of Tuyll to Father Gallitzin on May 30th, 1825, in which the Baron of Tuyll says: "The Baron of Maltitz asks me, Prince, to remember him to you." Father Gallitzin gives a good deal of information about himself in two letters written to James N. Causton, Esq., of Washing-

ton, in 1836, in reply to an inquiry of Mr. Causton whether Father Gallitzin had any data bearing upon Emperor Alexander of Russia.

In the first of these two letters, written on October 12th, 1836, Father Gallitzin states: "I am sorry that it is not in my power to gratify your wishes as I have neither letter nor signature nor other ms. from the late Emperor Alex. nor from the present one, Nicholas. I have indeed some writings which will enable me to remember the former to the end of my life, were I to live ten thousand years, viz. the copy or rather the translation of a Decree passed against me by the senate of St. Petersburg and sanctioned by the said Emperor whereby I am deprived of the whole of my father's property, and the reasons annexed, viz. because I became a Roman Catholic and a Clergyman, which decree left me, since the year 1807, to struggle with adversity, in consequences of debts to the amount of about $20,000.00 contracted in the establishment of the Church in this wild part of the country, which debts were by me considered as a mere trifle, in comparison with the immense property which I expected to have received. I also have a large medal with the Emperor Alex's likeness impressed on it, which is a present from my friend the Baron de Maltitz formerly Consul General of his Imperial Majesty at Washington, which medal I should be very glad to turn into money, if I could meet with the chance. I have likewise in my possession some letters from his Excellency, Baron de Tuyll dec's, formerly Minister Plenipotentiary from Russia to the U. States, a very great benefactor and particular friend of mine." (*American Catholic Historical Researches,* vol. 9, p. 98.)

In the second letter, dated November 8th, 1836, Father Gallitzin gives many more details of his life and of his indebtedness. He first tells Mr. Causton that he is sending him some letters from the Barons de Tuyll, and Maltitz which may be of service to him. Then he gives a sketch of events which he believes to be necessary for a proper interpretation of those letters. About his sister he writes: "From 1807 until 1818 my sister in all her letters, repeatedly promised me my full share of our father's estate. Unfortunately, in 1818, at the age of forty-nine, she married the Prince of Salm, who two weeks before the marriage

had promised to leave her the whole control of her property. After marriage however, he forgot his promise and being most enormously involved, both his Debts and his high style of living frustrated all my expectations for ever. My poor Sister died in 1823 (I believe), of a broken heart. On her Deathbed, by her last Will, she tried to afford me some help in my distress, but having left the Prince her Executor, I never got a cent of her bequest. The Prince of Salm died soon after, after having appropriated to himself the whole of my father's Estate, the greatest part of my mother's and the whole of my Sister's bequest to me."

He then goes on so say: "During so many years I had no other way to keep myself afloat except by borrowing. I borrowed from four banks about $6,000, then, in order to pay the Banks and other debts, I borrowed $8,000 from Messrs. Rob't and Jno. Oliver, $1,250 from Ch's Carroll of Carrollton, and $1,500 from some friends in Baltimore, the interest on which sums remains unpaid for about five years, which increased the sum borrowed to nearly $14,000, besides which, I still owed, say about $4,000 or $5,000 to other persons. Under these circumstances, when nearly desponding, I was suddenly relieved by receiving a part of my mother's bequest which reduced my debts to perhaps $7,000. This was in 1823, the very year which brought the Barons de Tuyll and Maltitz to Washington. The former made me a present of $2,800, and advised me strongly to address a Memorial to the Emperor of Russia, of which himself drew the sketch enclosed. . . . I shall only add that although my memorial to the Emperor proved unsuccessful, yet, by the blessing of God my Debts after a struggle of more than thirty years are reduced to about $2,000." (*American Catholic Historical Researches*, vol. 9, pp. 100-101.)

The appeal to the Emperor of Russia was sent in 1825. It was carefully prepared and recited briefly Father Gallitzin's life and the incidents which brought about his financial distress. It speaks of his work in the Alleghany Mountains and the purposes to which he put the money which he had received and which he had borrowed. It also tells of how he was deprived of his patrimony which he had been led to believe he would receive through his sister. The appeal was addressed to Emperor Alex-

ander I and was sent some time in 1825, but as the Emperor died on December 1st, 1825, it was believed that it never reached him. At any rate, nothing came of it. (*American Catholic Historical Researches*, vol. 9, pp. 102-105.)

Father Gallitzin was a warm friend of Bishop Henry Conwell, second Bishop of Philadelphia, and was devoted to him to the last. Bishop Conwell made him Vicar-General of the western part of his diocese but did not, in the beginning, define the limits of his authority. Later on, according to a letter written by Father Gallitzin to Rev. C. B. Maguire, on November 23, 1828, he defined his jurisdiction as embracing districts served by Rev. Messrs. McGirr, O'Neill Heyden and Reilly. (*Life of D. A. Gallitzin* by SARAH M. BROWNSON, p. 366.) The Bishop would have liked to have him as his coadjutor and apparently sent his name to Rome for this office. This is indicated in a letter written by Father Gallitzin to Rev. Mr. Heyden, dated Loretto, December 3,1827: "Rev'd Dear Sir: I returned from Washington and Baltimore via Harrisburgh, and got safely home Monday, Nov. 26th. My journey was premature, which obliges me to go down again after Christmas, when I shall take Bedford in my way. I reached Baltimore Friday night, Nov. 9th and on the following Tuesday whilst I was amusing myself on Madame Pochon's piano, who should stand behind me but the Right Rev'd Bishop of Philadelphia. I had hardly time to look around, when both his arms were around my neck and myself overwhelmed with kisses. Pray, who are you? Why; don't you know Henry Conwell, B'p of Philadelphia? I really did not know him he was [so] close to me. After getting his blessing he took me away to the Archbishop's, and told me on the road that he had nominated me his coadjutor and had written or was going to write to Rome on the subject. I told him I hoped not. The Archbishop and the Bishop seem to be united in their desire to see me appointed. I don't know what to say about it there [are] so many obstacles in the way, so many difficulties to overcome . . . my voyage to Europe which I shall (almost certainly) have to undertake next spring. When I mentioned my voyage to Europe the Bishop replied that he was glad to hear it and would go with me, as they wanted to see him at Rome." (*Ibid.*, pp. 363-364.)

The rapid development of the country in the western part of the state, the springing up of new parishes, the passing away of the old missionaries with replacement by new men, brought new problems into Father Gallitzin's life. Some of these had to do with his fellow priests. His own experience in life made him very sympathetic with priests who were in trouble, and aroused him to holy anger when accusations were brought against a clergyman. Bishop Conwell was called to Rome and Very Rev. William Matthews of Washington was made administrator of his diocese during his absence. Father Terence McGirr, one of Father Gallitzin's old associates, was in charge of Father Heilbron's mission in Westmoreland County and had difficulties with the trustees, who were bringing charges against him. Father Matthews appointed Rev. C. B. Maguire, who now was stationed in Pittsburgh, to investigate the charges against Father McGirr. Father Gallitzin, when he heard of the matter, promptly wrote both to Father Maguire and Father Matthews forbidding them to interfere with Father McGirr or to pass judgment upon him, inasmuch as Father McGirr was in the territory which Bishop Conwell had placed under his jurisdiction. On November 23d, 1828, Father Gallitzin wrote to Rev. C. B. Maguire: "I have learned from a respectable character in Ebensburg that your Reverence has been prevailed upon to take an active part in the persecutions carried on by an impious set against the Reverend Mr. McGirr. It does not belong to me to investigate your motives, which I hope are not revenge and self-interest (as is supposed by some persons) but this much I know, that a terrible woe must fall upon him who will seek or promote the downfall of a brother clergyman. More than thirty-three years spent on the mission have taught me that Catholics will go any length when animated by a spirit of hatred against their pastors, and had your Reverence been in this country in 1807, it would have raised the hair on your head to have read the horrid Depositions and Certificates fabricated against me, and sent to the Bishop by certain persons well known to you, and among the rest by some of the very same whom I now find arrayed against Rev'd T. McGirr. Thanks be to Divine Providence and to Bishop Carroll's wisdom and penetration, all their hellish plots proved harmless to me, but I am afraid not so to themselves; and I now declare unto your Rever-

ence that with the help of Divine Providence I shall exert all lawful means in my power to render abortive and harmless *to Mr. McGirr* the machinations of the impious Catholics of Westmoreland, together with your interference, and as a preliminary and precautionary measure I, as Vicar-General of the Westmoreland district, now positively release your Reverence from the trouble of interfering directly or indirectly with the Catholics of said district, or from officiating in that district except in *articulo mortis* viz, in the case of a dying person who could not confess in the English language." (*Ibid.*, pp. 366-367.) In a postscript written on December 13th, 1828, he writes: "I am just informed that you are appointed by Rev. Mr. Matthews to investigate Rev. Mr. McGirr's conduct. I cannot for a moment suppose that you, his professed adversary, would be so ungenerous, so mean, so void of all sense of propriety as to accept of such a commission. However, as the most unlikely things sometimes turn out to be matter of fact, I, Vicar-General of the Westmoreland district, do solemnly protest against your appointment as judge over Reverend T. McGirr, and I do again enjoin on your Reverence not to interfere with Reverend Mr. McGirr's district, or with any part of my district as Vicar-General, unless superior orders (after receiving Mr. McGirr's protest) should finally compel you to it. The laws of both church and state authorize such a protest, and during its pendency before the superior, you are in duty bound not to begin proceedings or to suspend them if already begun." (*Ibid.*, pp. 367-368.)

On the same date he wrote to Very Reverend William Matthews: "Very Rev. Sir: I just now read a letter which your Reverence wrote to Rev. Mr. McGirr, in which you state that you have appointed Very Rev. Mr. Maguire to take cognisance of and to pronounce upon the subject of certain accusations against the said Rev. Mr. McGirr. This is tantamount to a suspension. . . . If Bishop Carroll (that almost perfect man) had proceeded in the same manner in my case in 1807, there can be no doubt that I should have been suspended; the accusations against me were more grievous than those against Mr. McGirr, and also supported by an old clergyman; the messenger selected was . . . prothonotary of our county. Bishop Carroll, having read the deposition and certificate, turned about and

said: 'Sir, I am very sorry for one thing.' 'What is that, my Lord?' 'Why, to find your name on this infamous paper, and now, sir, clear yourself immediately from my presence, go home and give satisfaction to your pastor.' This I have from Mr. ———— himself whose testimony in such a case cannot be suspected, and who, accordingly came on the following Sunday to the church and at the foot of the altar, before the whole congregation, acknowledged and deplored his guilt in calumniating me; which example was followed by several more of them. Thus ended my business and thus, I contend, ought Rev. Mr. McGirr's business to end.

"It is shocking to both Catholics and Protestants (and you must know, Very Rev. Sir, that Rev. Mr. McGirr, a grey-haired gentleman, is much respected by all the respectable characters of both parties) it is shocking, then, I say, to hear that impious Freemason, Mr. ———— who is no Catholic (no matter what signs of Catholicity he may have exhibited at Washington), to hear him relate with how much respect he was received by you, to see him made by your Reverence the bearer of your letter to Mr. McGirr, and to hear him exult in his victory. Did you know, Very Rev. Sir, that this detestable man traveled about from door to door, even to a distance of many miles *sicut corugiens* on purpose to make persons swear against Mr. McGirr, which besides being most infamous in itself was a notorious breach of the law which he is sworn to support? . . . Would you be willing after the lapse of so many years, even to listen to such stuff or to permit the character and livelihood of a clergyman to have to depend on such untimely testimonies? . . . When our worthy Bishop appointed me vicar-general over the district of Rev. Messrs. McGirr, O'Neill, Heyden and O'Rielly, he particularly recommended me to be like a father to them; it became my religious duty, of course (whenever I heard of the accusation against one of them by an impious set, before your Reverence), to prevent you from being taken by surprise and to put you upon your guard. . . . I had reason to suppose that my age, my thirty-three years' residence on this mountain and thorough acquaintance with persons and circumstances, would give my recommendations some weight. Alas! I find myself mistaken, and whilst on one hand an impious man, breathing spite and

revenge, brags of your respectful attention, I have to acknowledge that no attention whatever is paid to my letter." (Rough draft of a letter sent to Rev. Wm. Matthews, published by Sarah M. Brownson, p. 368-370.) Apparently, for the time being at least, Father McGirr was not disturbed. It is probable that Father Gallitzin's interference saved him.

Father Gallitzin did not go to Europe as he had intimated in his letter to Father Heyden he might. Bishop Conwell did go to Rome and returned relieved of his official burdens. Rev. Francis Patrick Kenrick, associated with Bishop Flaget, was appointed coadjutor to Bishop Conwell with jurisdiction. Father Kenrick was notified of his appointment to the see of Philadelphia on March 13th, 1830, and received the notification on April 20th. He wrote to Father Gallitzin from Bardstown on May 3d, addressing him as Very Rev. D. A. Gallitzin. He informed Father Gallitzin of his appointment as coadjutor to the Bishop of Philadelphia with full power of administration of the diocese and begged Father Gallitzin to continue to exercise the faculties which he already possessed. The letter was written in a most cordial vein. "The intelligence of my appointment to the coadjutorship and full administration of the diocese of Philadelphia has, of course, ere this, reached you. To me it is a matter of serious regret that you or some of the veteran missionaries of the diocese have been left in the humbler and more tranquil spheres of your ministry, whilst I am called from this peaceful recess to so perilous an elevation. Opposition, however, I have deemed fruitless, and I have, therefore, preferred a ready acceptance to any exercise or display of humility. . . . As no ambition has prompted my acceptance, no spirit of domination shall characterize my exercise of authority, but I shall regard myself as a brother of all my clergymen, above whom, though far inferior in merits and services to several, I am raised by the inscrutable councils of Providence. For you, Reverend Sir, I shall cherish an affection blended with veneration, and grounded on the solid basis of your universally acknowledged merits. I beg of you to continue to exercise the faculties which you already possess, in all their amplitude, and I further empower you to grant all such matrimonial dispensations and exercise all such other powers as may not already be contained in your faculties,

and which I could impart were I personally consulted. These extraordinary powers you will at discretion exercise until such time as I shall be within the limits of the diocese.

"The consecration is intended to take place in the cathedral of Bardstown on Whitsunday, if it suits the convenience of Dr. England whom I have invited to preach on the occasion, otherwise, perhaps shortly after *Corpus Christi.* I should have chosen Philadelphia for the place of consecration, but I was anxious to give this mark of my attachment to the apostolic prelate of this diocese, who parts from me with all the impassioned sorrow of a parent. The precise day I shall endeavor to have notified in the public prints. If you could conveniently attend, you will confer on me a high favor, and I am confident you will feel no small gratification in witnessing the splendid edifices which religion has raised in this country." (*Life of D. A. Gallitzin* by SARAH M. BROWNSON, pp. 377-378.)

To this cordial letter Father Gallitzin replied rather coldly and formally on May 22d, 1830: "Your favor conveying the intelligence of your appointment to the coadjutorship and full administration, etc., was duly received. Whilst on the one hand it relieves my mind from the most serious apprehensions, it on the other, throws me into a state of perplexity, having only a few days since received a communication from the clergy of Philadelphia, conveying the pleasing intelligence of the full restoration of our worthy Bishop to his episcopacy, authority and jurisdiction. It does not belong to me as an inferior to judge between my superiors, and in fact I am not in possession of any data on which to form a judgment; but from the time that our Bishop took his departure for Rome until the present day, I have never received any authentic communication concerning ecclesiastical affairs, and all the information I have had on these important subjects, including the late synod and your appointment etc., was derived from newspaper and from flying and often contradictory reports. In short, Rt. Rev. Sir, I never was in the secrets of the cabinet, and to this day have not even been favored with a copy of the pastoral letter directed to the clergy, though report says that such a letter was published by the Synod of Baltimore. From the above you will at once agree that my line of conduct is plainly marked out for me, viz: to leave it to

my superiors to settle the question of jurisdiction between them, and to wait the result. Dr. Conwell was once declared to be my Bishop, his jurisdiction suspended pro tem. is now declared to be fully restored, of course my allegiance to him still continues, until I am released by him or by an authority superior to his. In this declaration you will discover nothing, I hope, but a sure pledge of my future fidelity and obedience to yourself; whenever it is made manifest to me that you are my Bishop, I shall cheerfully acquiesce and sincerely thank Divine Providence which in His kindness has relieved me from all apprehension of ever becoming Bishop of Philadelphia. Both the late Archbishop (a very particular friend of mine) and our own present Bishop spoke to me in Baltimore, November, 1827, and begged of me to suffer my name to be mentioned at Rome for the coadjutorship of Philadelphia. I at first opposed it, and if I finally concluded to remain neutral, it was merely with a view of availing myself of the chance I might derive from such a nomination, to obtain from Rome a division of this immense diocese, and to have this place, which is the centre of a large Catholic settlement, raised to the dignity of an episcopal see, for I always dreaded the idea of being Bishop of Philadelphia. . . . I have stood by him [Bishop Conwell] and the most of his clergy have stood by him. We considered him as an injured and persecuted man; it was not enough that he was spit upon and dirt thrown at him in the streets of Philadelphia, which he bore with the utmost meekness. . . . I have spent thirty-five years in this mission and I can safely declare that during the seven or eight years of Dr. Conwell's administration, religion has made more rapid strides than it had during the twenty-six or twenty-seven preceding years, and to the present moment we are left to guess what could have been the crimes for which nearly the heaviest punishment is inflicted, which the Church can inflict upon a Bishop. Permit me now, Rt. Rev. Sir, to give you my humble opinion as to the course you had better pursue under the above circumstances.

"Instead of conferring Confirmation in the various congregations on your way to Philadelphia, as you propose, I would beg of you to post on *recta via* to headquarters in order to have the main question settled at once, that no difficulty, no scruple, or perplexity may remain in the minds of the clergy you would meet

on the road. At any rate, giving Confirmation now would be premature. I wish to have at least the month [of June] to prepare my immense congregation for so great a blessing, of which as many as one hundred will partake, and which cannot be reiterated. For this extensive congregation, the members of which have almost exclusively to earn their living by hard labor, the very best time for confirmation would be after harvest, say at the end of September, or the beginning of October. In the eastern part of the diocese, where the congregations are chiefly confined to towns, any time will do.

"Moreover, I must beg of you, and this I would do on both my knees, not to interfere with the Westmoreland question until you have first been in Philadelphia, and afterwards at Loretto, at which two places you will obtain full possession of all the facts necessary to be known, in order to enable you to form a sound judgment. As Vicar-General I have been obliged to interfere and I can safely say the difficulties are so great, that were you just now in Westmoreland, without a miraculous interposition of Providence you could never succeed in settling matters, whilst in Philadelphia and Loretto you would have time to collect your materials and digest your plan." (*Ibid.*, pp. 378-380.) Father Gallitzin did not go to the consecration at Bardstown.

Bishop Kenrick replied to this letter on June 11th, 1830: "Rev'd and dear Sir: Your favor of the 22d ult. reached me on the 9th inst. three days after my consecration. This was performed by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Flaget, assisted by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Conwell, the Rt. Rev. Dr. David, the Rt. Rev. Dr. England and the Rt. Rev. Dr. Edward Fenwick being also in choir on the occasion. Your presence would have been grateful to many who were desirous to see the man whose writings had edified and enlightened them, and to some who have longed to see once more him whom, at an early part of his ministry they had viewed with veneration. Among the latter are the families of Messrs. Elder and Moore, who desire to be remembered kindly to you. To me it would have been in a high degree gratifying, but I could not claim or expect the favor.

"Your letter exhibits the candid and uncompromising spirit of a veteran missionary who, through a principle of duty, adheres to a prelate dear to his heart on account of the obloquy

and afflictions unjustly heaped upon him. I join fully with you in these strong and generous feelings, and I hope we shall both equally concur in the adoption of those measures which, in the judgment of the American prelates and of the Holy See, seem necessary to terminate his afflictions. . . . Your piety and long-tried zeal promised me much aid in the arduous undertaking, and though the language of your answer would appear disheartening, I feel fully persuaded that on receiving a distinct notification of my authority, you will support me most ardently in endeavoring to solace and honor the declining age of the venerable Bishop of Philadelphia and to promote the peace and prosperity of the diocese. Should your opinion as to the expediency of the measures adopted be different from that of the American prelacy, and as to the selection of the individual should you also think differently from them, still you will no doubt yield in deference to their judgment, sustained by the solemn sanction of the Apostolic See. To dissipate every doubt arising from the rumors that have reached you, or the statements made from rumor by clergymen who had not seen the documents, I take the trouble of making an extract from the letter written by Cardinal Cappellan, prefect of the congregation, and to which reference was made in Papal Bulls. . . . The bishop is still left at liberty to exercise all public functions, to administer Confirmation, and even Orders, to such as with my consent shall be presented for ordination. . . . I have requested him, therefore, to administer Confirmation in Pittsburg, on Sunday, the 20th inst., Rev. Mr. Maguire having solicited me to administer it; and I meant to give him in the other congregations, as we passed forward, a similar mark of my respect, and the public this testimony of his still being recognized as a worthy prelate, though unfortunate in the difficulties which he encountered. Thus his return to Philadelphia would have been a species of triumph, and I would stand by his side to support, vindicate, and comfort him. This I am still determined to do, and if ever I recede from the kindest and most respectful course of conduct in his regard, the fault shall not be mine. I did intend to visit Rev. Mr. McGirr's congregation with the others on my way, but I was determined not to adopt any precipitate measures. The information which you can afford me on this and other subjects will be most acceptable, and I hope

to receive it by word or letter speedily. Being solicited to go to Huntingdon by Rev. Mr. O'Rielly to dedicate a church, and give Confirmation, I may be prevented from calling at Loretto, which I greatly desire to do in order to form a personal acquaintance with its venerated pastor. If, in my power, I will gladly visit your congregation and administer Confirmation at another time that may better suit. . . .

"I have shown, as you requested, your letter to the bishops, and believe that they lament that your not being fully informed of the extent of my powers, has led you to indicate something like dissent from measures adopted by the Holy See, at the particular suggestion of all the American prelacy in council. Your letter indeed is not in accord with those which I have received from Rev. Messrs. Maguire, Hurley, Hughes, Heyden, Kenney, O'Rielly, etc., etc. But on a better acquaintance I hope every difficulty will vanish. Pray for me, dear and reverend Sir, and believe in the sincerity of my respect and attachment. Your affectionate brother in Christ." (*Ibid.*, pp. 381-384.)

On the way home from Kentucky to Philadelphia, Bishop Conwell and Kenrick stopped in Pittsburg, but Bishop Kenrick administered Confirmation instead of Bishop Conwell, according to Martin I. J. Griffin. They also stopped to see Father Gallitzin at Loretto, from where they went to Huntingdon, Pa. At Huntingdon Bishop Conwell dedicated the church of the Holy Trinity. They arrived in Philadelphia on July 7th. (*Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, vol. 29, p. 175.)

It would seem that Bishop Kenrick followed Father Gallitzin's advice to go direct to Philadelphia before starting upon his episcopal mission. Apparently the only functions performed either by himself or by Bishop Conwell were confirmation in Pittsburgh and the dedication of a church in Huntingdon, Pa. Soon after reaching Philadelphia, however, he started on his official visitation and reached Loretto in the latter part of October. In his diary he writes: "October the twenty-ninth we arrived at Ebensburg, and on the 31st of the same month I gave the Sacrament of Confirmation to more than a hundred persons at Loretto. The Loretto congregation is very large, and would require the strenuous labors of three priests at least. The pastor is Rev. Demetrius A. Gallitzin. He has now reached an age

advanced in years through a life of the strictest integrity, and labors that are marvelous. This remarkable man, when still quite young left the errors of the Greek (schismatics), gave up his rights and the dignity of a line of royal descent, and embraced the Catholic Faith. There are two hundred acres of land adjoining the church, a wooden building, the gift of a certain—McGuire. The heirs of McGuire have not, however, as yet made out a deed which will secure title to the property." (Bishop Kenrick's diary and visitation records, Rev. F. E. Tourscher, pp. 41-45.)

Even during Bishop Conwell's time, as has been seen, new priests came into the outlying district of Father Gallitzin's territory. Rev. Thomas Heyden had been a relatively near neighbor at Bedford, Pa., since 1826. Bishop Kenrick made strenuous efforts to get additional priests into the territory. He sent a Rev. Patrick Duffy to Ebensburg, but this gentleman, for some reason or other, did not remain long. He was succeeded by Rev. James Bradley to whom were assigned Newry and St. Joseph's at Hart's Sleeping Place in addition to Ebensburg. He sent Father James Stillinger, a native of Chambersburg, the son of one of Father Gallitzin's early parishioners, into the Westmoreland district in 1831 and he sent Rev. Henry Lemcke, a German, to Father Gallitzin as an assistant in 1834. In sending these young men into the district Bishop Kenrick was very considerate of Father Gallitzin's long service. In a letter dated November 8th, 1830, to Rev. Dr. Purcell of Mount St. Mary's College, Bishop Kenrick writes, after apologizing for taking Father Stillinger away from the Conewago district: "Speed him, then, to his destination, so that he may reach it soon after the 19th inst. You will also please to despatch Rev. James Bradley to Ebensburg that he may enter on his career as assistant Priest to Rev. D. A. Gallitzin. I wish him for the present to act in this capacity, and not as an independent pastor. The venerable priest of Loretto deserves that the Congregations which he has formed should remain under his care and superintendence. Rev. Mr. Bradley should repair to him in the first place and receive his directions. It seems his wish that Rev. Mr. Bradley should reside in Ebensburg and receive support from the neighboring Cong'n. You will please tell him that I wish him to visit at least

four times a year, or 6, the Congregation in Cameron's Bottom, Indiana Cy., 14 miles from Ebensburg." (*American Catholic Historical Researches*, vol. 12, p. 150.)

Some light is thrown on Rev. Patrick Duffy's departure from Ebensburg in another paragraph of this same letter, farther along, in which Bishop Kenrick directs further advice to be given to Father Bradley: "Give him all the good counsels which you know I would give him, were I present at his departure for the mission. Warn him to speak as little as possible and with the greatest caution about Duffy's case, so as neither positively to inculpate him or rashly to censure acts which proceeded from a conscientious feeling of duty. Rev. Mr. Bruté, my dearest friend, will no doubt aid you in warning him to avoid the rocks on which so many have split, and in exhorting him to zeal, and to vigilance over his own conduct." (*Ibid.*, p. 151.)

The written reminiscences of some of these young men of their first contact with Father Gallitzin when they went out to start work in his settlement give us an attractive picture of the saintly old missionary as he approached the zenith of his life. "He received me then and always," writes Rev. Mr. Bradley, "with true paternal kindness. I remained with him a few days, sung high Mass for him on Sunday, and he preached. . . . His manner was dignified, his language clear and impressive, his trumpet voice could be heard at a great distance, his articulation perfectly distinct, although he had accidentally lost all his teeth. . . . His discourses were generally on controversy, having been led in that direction by being obliged to defend Catholic principles, from the incessant attacks and misrepresentations of them, by the various Protestant sects. However, he inculcated all the Christian virtues, especially humility, and declaimed against the sin of pride." (*Life of D. A. Gallitzin* by SARAH M. BROWNSON, p. 391.)

Rev. James A. Stillinger visited him for the first time in 1831 and writes of this visit: "In 1831 I went to see him for the first time. On entering the hall he met me, and took my hand with both of his, so beautifully and delicately formed, looking intently into my face with his dark hazel eyes, quick and penetrating, and a countenance beaming full of benevolence and kindness, and an address so graceful, so bland, so fatherly and accomplished as at

once to indicate the nobleman, the high-bred gentleman and the self-sacrificing convert and missionary. . . . Before I could give him my address, he said: 'Your name is Stillinger, I said Mass in your grandfather's house before you were born. You are welcome,' he continued, and said that on his first visit to Chambersburg, when he was within two or three miles of the place, he met some persons on the road and asked them if they knew where Michael Stillinger lived; they said they did, and gave him the direction by pointing to the part of the town where he lived; he thanked them kindly and rode on, but he had not gone far when he heard a person calling: 'Stranger! Stranger!' he stopped until the person came up to him, almost out of breath from running, who said: 'I come to tell you, Sir, that Stillinger is a Papist.' 'Very well, Sir, I am thankful to you for the information, I will see to that.' We enjoyed a pleasant laugh, and entertained ourselves agreeably with other matters. Next morning, though there were others that could serve Mass, he insisted upon serving my Mass, I, of course, felt honored and have ever since, for it was not deserved on my part, the reward went to him, and would add to his crown in heaven. How humble and how great! I shall ever remember the impression it made on my mind. I was the young priest but little over a year ordained, he was the nobleman, greatest among the great, the self-sacrificing convert, and a Catholic in faith to the marrow; he was the devoted, humble and learned priest and venerable missionary of the Alleghany Mountains." (*Ibid.*, pp. 391-392.)

Father Henry Lemcke, in his biography of Father Gallitzin, gives a most interesting description of his first encounter, in 1834, with Father Gallitzin on his way from Munster, where he had stopped over night, to Loretto, under the guidance of a little boy, Tom Collins. Father Gallitzin was travelling in a two-horse sled in the fall of the year, although there was no snow on the ground, because he was unable, through physical injury, to travel in any other way. He was on his way to celebrate Mass in the house of one of his parishioners, Joshua Parrish, over in what is now the Wilmore district, about ten miles from Loretto. He asked Father Lemcke to accompany him and assist him in hearing confessions. "The Catholics of the neighborhood," writes Father Lemcke, "men, women and children, had already

gathered round the house in large numbers. An altar was set up in the house, the important elements of which had been brought in the sled. Gallitzin sat in one corner of the house to hear confessions and I was directed to sit in another corner. To me the procedure was most wonderful. It was indeed extremely touching, how the simple farm house with all its household furniture and the large fireplace at which simultaneously baking and cooking are done at once, had changed into a church; how the people beneath the overhanging roof of the coachhouse or under the trees, stood or knelt with their prayer books and then, with most devout demeanor, went in and out to confession as each one's turn came. After the Mass, at which Father Gallitzin likewise preached, and after a certain number of children had been baptized, the altar was taken down and in place of it the dinner table was set up. This, of course, was much too small, but everybody knew how to help himself. After one party had finished eating, another sat at the table. The children stood round in the corners and had their hands full. The mother and daughter of the house went backwards and forwards serving the food, took up and brought the food cooking at the fireplace directly out of the cooking vessels to the plates. In short, everything went so smoothly and lovely that unconsciously the love-feast of the early times came to my mind." (LEMCKE'S *Life of Gallitzin*, p. 20.)

A picture of him in 1837 is given by Father Lemcke in a letter written to Father Diepenbrock in Regansburg, published at that time and republished by Father Lemcke in his biography: "Of the old, worthy Gallitzin, whom I now really seldom see, inasmuch as I am twelve miles away from him, I have in the matter of social intercourse and human consolation very little; he is completely shut within himself. For forty-two years he was thrown upon his own resources. Moreover, he is the noblest, cleanest, godliest human being I have ever met. . . . He gave everything, everything, and what is of most importance, himself along; therefore he now lives in undisturbed peace and the angel already looks out through his eyes and I feel in regard to him that he could at any time lie down and fall asleep with a laughing countenance like a tired child." (LEMCKE'S *Life of Gallitzin*, pp. 375-376.)

The relations between Father Gallitzin and Bishop Kenrick evidently became sympathetic and friendly. Bishop Kenrick visited Father Gallitzin again in 1831, as indicated by a letter written by Father Gallitzin to Father Heyden on August 27th of that year. "You are no doubt apprised by this time that your letter inviting me to Newry did not reach me until Sunday about ten o'clock. Dr. Kenrick's letter of invitation also came too late. I wrote to him and sent the letter by my young man, giving my ideas on the subject of building churches at Newry and Holidaysburgh (as he had requested my advice). However, I think his mind was made up. . . . I feel much afflicted and sincerely sympathize with you, however, there is no remedy but submission. I am sorry, that your affliction prevented your coming to Loretto; on the contrary, in times of sorrow you should visit your real friend to seek consolation. As you have more leisure in your present situation than formerly, I hope you will pay me a visit as soon as convenient. I met the Bishop at Ebensburg; he arrived on the 18th at two o'clock and left next day at seven, without being able to promise positively to return the same way. Whilst at Ebensburg he received four letters from Philadelphia which seemed to agitate his mind considerably, from what I could learn, it is not the trustees alone that give him trouble. . . . Poor Bishop! Had he known (whilst in Kentucky) all that was before him he would have paused a while before he consented to accept of the mitre. O my friend, how much reason I have to thank God!" (*Life of D. A. Gallitzin* by SARAH M. BROWNSON, p. 389.) Some light is thrown upon Father Heyden's "affliction," referred to in this letter, in Bishop Kenrick's diary in the item of August 7th, 1831, in which he states that he took Newry away from Father Heyden and gave it to Father O'Reilly. Whatever may have been written by Bishop Kenrick about the distressing news he got from Philadelphia evidently was cut out of the diary by him, or by some one else. Between the entry of August 8th and that of August 19th, 1831, in the printed diary, there is a notice in brackets that here a leaf has been cut out, leaving two lines only at the top of pages twenty-three and twenty-four which read: "I wrote to Patrick Meally, Philadelphia, August 19th, 1831: the same day I answered the letter

of Rev. Thomas Gegan." (Bishop Kenrick's diary and visitation records by F. E. T., pp. 56-57.)

Father Gallitzin's experience with unscrupulous men who were willing to make charges against priests without sufficient warrant, made him hypersensitive in the matter of accusations against clergymen and perhaps blinded him to some extent to their faults. He always was ready to stand up for a priest who was in trouble or against whom an accusation had been made to the Bishop. In the controversy between Father Terence McGirr and Father Charles Maguire he stood up vigorously for Father McGirr and for a time at least held back Father McGirr's removal from Sportsman's Hall. When, late in 1830, Father McGirr was compelled to resign his charge at Sportsman's Hall, Father Gallitzin gave him shelter and fraternal support and subsequently when the Bishop assigned Father McGirr St. Joseph's at Hart's Sleeping Place and St. Patrick's at Cameron's Bottom, took him under his wing, these parishes being part of his territory. He pleaded with the Bishop for a fair trial for priests who were accused of faults or derelictions of duty and when stories carried by a tavernkeeper to the Bishop about a certain priest had been listened to by the Bishop, he indignantly presented his resignation as Vicar-General (*Life of D. A. Gallitzin* by SARAH M. BROWNSON, p. 387.)

Apparently Father James Bradley was removed from Ebensburg to some other settlement nearby in 1832, probably Newry. Bishop Kenrick speaks of him as being at Ebensburg on October 14th, 1832, when the Bishop administered Confirmation to a hundred and thirteen people, and as being held in high esteem by the people. (*Bishop Kenrick's diary and visitation records,* Father F. E. Tourscher, p. 79.) On May 20th, 1834, Bishop Kenrick makes a memorandum in his diary that he wrote to Rev. James Bradley and requested him to visit once each month the congregations of St. Thomas in the town of Bedford and St. John in the place called Harman's Bottom. (*Ibid.*) On January 10th, 1833, the Bishop wrote to Father Gallitzin: "I am pleased to learn from your favor of the 3d inst. the prospect which the Ebensburg and adjacant congregations afford for the reasonable support of a pastor. You may rely upon it that I shall seize an opportunity of meeting with your and their wishes, though the

necessity of providing for other places equally or more destitute, and the scarcity of missionaries leaves me unable to say when. As to the goodwill of the people I never entertained the least doubt; though I knew not whether their number or means would enable them, after the completion of the railroad, to support a resident priest. . . . If I had a German priest at my disposal, I would cheerfully attend your suggestion, but several other places need a German priest and cannot obtain him. . . . I wish you many years of health and happiness and an abundance of those consolations which heaven usually bestows on the veteran champions of religion." (*Life of D. A. Gallitzin by* SARAH M. BROWNSON, p. 396.)

In 1834 Bishop Kenrick was able to send Father Henry Lemcke, a German priest who had recently come to America and for a short time had been stationed at Holy Trinity, Philadelphia, to Father Gallitzin as an assistant. Father Lemcke, having had some unpleasant experiences with the trustees at Holy Trinity, had asked for a change. He went to Loretto at the end of the year 1834. He was still at Holy Trinity on November 2d, 1834, when Bishop Kenrick gave Confirmation there. (*Bishop Kenrick's diary and visitation records* by F. E. T., p. 104.) Father Gallitzin took Father Lemcke to Ebensburg and secured a boarding place for him at Mr. Ivory's, whose wife had been partly raised by Father Gallitzin. In addition to the people at Ebensburg he gave him the care of the people at Hart's Sleeping Place and at Johnstown and he secured for him an underwriting for his support, giving him a list of the people who had agreed to contribute. He himself guaranteed him a hundred dollars a year for coming to Loretto once a month to preach and hear confessions. A document in the German language signed by himself and the German settlers of the territory around, on record in the courthouse at Ebensburg, runs as follows: "Loretto, Cambria County, January 1st, 1835. Demetrius Augustine Gallitzin, pastor of Holy St. Michael's Church at Loretto, Cambria County, binds himself to have the German priest who lives in Ebensburg to come to Loretto every month on one Sunday to hold services in St. Michael's church named above, to hear confessions and to preach in German, and also binds himself to pay the said priest a hundred dollars annually for his service. Fur-

thermore, D. A. Gallitzin binds himself to preach at least once every month on a Sunday in German, perhaps even oftener when it is possible. Demetrius A. Gallitzin, pastor of St. Michael's Church at Loretto.

"We, the German members of the parish of Rev. Demetrius Augustine Gallitzin, bind ourselves to pay yearly to our here-named Reverend Pastor the following sums." (Original document obtained through the courtesy of M. D. Kittell, Esq., for the purpose of having a photostatic copy made.)

Thirty-five names are signed to the document and in a column after each name the amount is set down which the individual subscribes. In a parallel column the payments are indicated, but for one year only. The total amount subscribed was $58.50, of which amount only $42.00 is marked paid. It would seem that Father Gallitzin made up the deficit each year. At the bottom of the first column there is a memorandum of $46.00 paid in 1835 and $23.50 in 1836. At the end of the document a receipt signed by Father Lemcke is as follows: "Received January 29th, 1842, of William Todd, one of the executors of the estate of Rev. D. A. Gallitzin, one hundred dollars, the balance in full of my claim on the within agreement."

In his sixth visitation, in 1835, Bishop Kenrick speaks of Father James Bradley at Newry, Pennsylvania, and Father Henry Lemcke at Ebensburg. He writes in his diary: "The Rev. Peter Henry Lemcke has the care of this congregation; but though he is a very good man and conscientious in the care of souls, he hardly gets [from the people] the means of living. I decided to give him the charge also of the congregation of St. Joseph's in a place called Hart's Sleeping Place in this same county [Cambria] and the congregation in the place known as Johnstown. I requested him also to visit at some stated times during the year the faithful living at Centre and Clearfield Counties, until some other provision could be made for them. Towards evening [July 9th?] I arrived at Loretto, the home of Rev. Demetrius A. Gallitzin, who has lived here now thirty-six years, and is at present in the sixty-fifth year of his life." (*Bishop Kenrick's diary and visitation records*, Rev. F. E. Tourscher, pp. 107-108.)

In 1834 Father Gallitzin again took up his pen in defense of Catholic principles. A Presbyterian synod held at Columbia, Pa., had adopted some resolutions offensive to Catholics and had sent the resolutions to the Presbyterian churches throughout the country to be read to the people. He published what he had to say about these resolutions in a newspaper and afterwards in a pamphlet (issued at Ebensburg by Canan & Scott), under the title: "Six Letters of Advice to the Gentlemen Presbyterian Parsons, Who Lately Met at Columbia, Pa., for the Purpose of Declaring War Against the Catholic Church, by Demetrius Augustine Gallitzin." (*Life of D. A. Gallitzin* by SARAH M. BROWNSON, p. 407.) The resolutions adopted by the synod together with Father Gallitzin's six letters are published at the end of Miss Brownson's life of Gallitzin.

Father Gallitzin spent his declining years in peace among his people. The shadow of death was already hanging over him. Not only had his long, arduous work told heavily on his health but he had received a serious injury in a fall from a horse which made it somewhat difficult for him to get around. He, however, persisted in performing all his duties and had himself hauled round about the country in a sled, summer and winter. He had lost all his teeth and was therefore much restricted in his diet. He was a most abstemious man and made milk his chief beverage. Some insight is given us into his life in these days by a letter which he wrote to Father Thomas Heyden on January 24th, 1838: "The duties of the holidays together with a little spell of sickness which kept me confined for about eight or nine days are my apology for not replying sooner to your friendly letter. Your appointment for Philadelphia was fully anticipated by me and affords an ample field for the display of your zeal and talents in the cause of God. In consequence of your promise to render me any office of friendship in your power, I beg of you, my dear friend, to reject as a temptation the wish to see me appointed to an episcopal see. Could I even deceive myself so far as to suppose (which God forbid), that I really possess the necessary qualifications, my age (I am since December 22d, in my 68th year), and my inability to travel, are insuperable obstacles to the discharge of episcopal functions. The only object of my ambition is to give the finishing stroke to my undertaking in this

flourishing Catholic establishment, by building a large and permanent church, as soon as a favorable change of times will justify so costly an undertaking. This being accomplished, I shall then (if I live to see it accomplished), consider it my duty to resign my trust into my Bishop's hands, to enable him to transfer it into better hands." (*Ibid.*, pp. 431-432.) After making a plea for the exemption of priests in the outlying districts from going to the synod in Philadelphia on account of the great expense involved and asking Father Heyden to show this letter to the Bishop, he goes on: "My dear friend, following your edifying example, I have held my retreat, and made my general confession the last week in Advent. May the residue of our lives be a continual retreat from this wicked world, and a constant preparation for a better." (*Ibid.*, p. 433.)

His great grief about his debt, which had followed him through life, became mitigated as he saw the prospect loom up before him of being able to pay it off before death should overtake him. The industries which he had established were now bringing him some return and he saw in them the resources out of which he could meet the obligations which he had assumed. In sending the seminary collection of his parish to Bishop Kenrick on June 4th, 1839, he writes: "Rt. Rev. and very dear Sir: By Mr. William Todd you receive the amount of our collection for your Seminary, only $196.37½ a very trifling sum indeed, but larger than I expected. In consequence of the failure of crops almost all of us had to buy our breadstuffs, instead of having any to sell. As for myself I am ashamed of having nothing to offer except the paltry sum of $25. My Debts amounting yet to nearly $2,000 and the frequent visits I receive from our Blessed Savior in the shape of Widows, Orphans & other poor People must be my Apology for the present, but live in hopes of being able to do a little more before long. N. B. the above sum is only the Amt. of collection in my own congregation, & I am surprised to hear that nothing was done in the other 3 Congregations. Mr. Todd is in such a hurry (for fear of missing the Stage of the Summit) that I have only time to add Assurances of the great respect with which I remain, R. Rev'd & very Dear Sir, yr. most hble. & obdt. ser't." (*Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, vol. 14, p. 80.)

Delicate as he had been for many years, what little strength he had left was rapidly slipping away from him. On August 27th, 1839, he wrote to Father Heyden: "The account you had of my illness was not founded in fact. What may have given rise to it is that I was (by pains in the lower joints) for one Sunday only prevented from appearing at the holy altar, which, perhaps, alarmed some of those who being in the habit of seeing me there every Sunday, concluded that I must be very ill. In Chambersburg they had me dead and buried." (*Life of D. A. Gallitzin* by SARAH M. BROWNSON, pp. 433-434.) The winter of 1839 was a very severe one in the mountains and no doubt told on him heavily. In the spring of 1840 his condition became more critical. In April his hernia apparently became strangulated. Dr. Aristide Rodrigue, an able physician, and a devoted friend of Gallitzin, did what he could to relieve him and finally operated on him. When it was seen that death was inevitable, Father Henry Lemcke and Father Thomas Heyden were sent for and both reached his bedside before he died. He passed away on May 6th, 1840.

His death was like that of a patriarch among his people. Father Lemcke writes of it: "Inflammation had set in and with a quiet mien, like a sleeping person in consoling dreams, he lay there. He lay in this condition until the evening of May second, with short intervals of consciousness, until between six and seven o'clock in the evening the indications of death set in. Then Father Heyden began the prayers for the dying and all knelt down and joined him in them, for the door of his room stood open and the entire household as well as the adjoining chapel was full of participating, weeping people. I sat with the dying candle in front of the bed, with the hand of the dying man in my hand and felt the flickering pulse stop. Then when the prayers had been finished, the dear, holy soul had fled without any evident struggle. 'He has finished,' said I, and we all knelt down again and said the prayers for the eternal rest of the departed soul." (*Life of Prince Gallitzin*, LEMCKE, p. 368.)

Father Thomas Heyden writes of his death: "After having received the extreme rites of the Church, with the dispositions of a saint, he seemed to say and feel with holy Simeon: 'Now Thou dost dismiss Thy servant in peace.' When he could no

longer speak to his attendant friends about eternity and his heavenly hopes he frequently used to make upon his person the sign of the cross, to indicate where he had placed his strong trust, viz: in the merits of his crucified Savior. No minister of our Lord, no pastor of souls could use with more truth or hope the words of St. Paul: 'For I am now ready to be sacrificed and the time of my dissolution it at hand. I have fought the good fight: I have finished my course: I have kept the Faith. As for the rest there is laid up for me a crown of glory which the Lord the just Judge will render to me and not to me only, but to all that love His coming'." (HEYDEN'S *Life of Gallitzin*, pp. 139-140.)

His obsequies betokened his life and the attachment in which he was held by his people. "Although from the death house nothing further was done except to announce the day of burial . . . in spite of unfavorable weather people gathered together from forty to fifty miles. The corpse had been laid out in the house chapel and was surrounded day and night by praying people who came in droves and relieved each other. From here we had only to bring it a few steps to its last resting place. But this we did not wish to do, but we wanted to see it carried in solemn procession over the main scene of action where the dear man for more than forty years traveled about so industriously, where his care and persevering patience had made a laughing garden out of a wilderness. At ten o'clock on the day named the funeral procession formed in front of the house to march round the garden and meadows through the town and return, in the opposite direction, to the church. In front the symbol of redemption was carried by the oldest man who still survived of the small colony which had settled here in 1799, and was followed by a long stretch of weeping children, for the most part grandchildren of the original settlers. After these came old Mr. Feltz, who in earlier days had lived with Gallitzin and served him as sexton and choirmaster, singing the "Miserere" supported by a numerous choir alternating with a kind of solemn music. . . . In solemn procession the corpse was alternately carried by six men. The change was quite frequent, since the most prominent men not only of the parish but from a great distance round strove for the honor in order that they might

relate to their grandchildren that they also helped to carry the ever-memorable man to the grave. The following was so great that although the road extended over half a mile, many had not a turn when the corpse was already brought back into the church. . . . When finally preparation was made for the burial one could for the first time see how dear the man was to all hearts. Everybody wanted at least to see him once more; many who were able to push themselves forward kissed the stiffened hands and it was almost necessary to use force to be able to close the coffin." (LEMCKE'S *Life of Gallitzin*, pp. 370, 372.)

LAWRENCE F. FLICK, M.D., L.L.D.

CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SCHOLARSHIP IN THE UNITED STATES[1]

The sources of American history and the scholarship that made its literature are two subjects of study which can never be quite completely separated. We go back to renew the search on some settled point of fact. We make new surveys of former fields of research. We get new views from new points of vantage. But specialized studies like these will not take on the character of rebuilding or doing over again the work of the men who made the classics of American narrative and critical history. At every turn we find ourselves following the lead of the men who have been over the ground bfore us. We feel that we need the help, the judgment and experience of the scholars who studied the sources before we were here to know them.

It is seldom that we pause to think how much we owe to the pioneers of research in the records of our early history. We take our easy and unearned access to accumulated results of past labors as a matter of course. We go to the card index or we refer our question to the Librarian and his staff of assistants and we find what we want ready for use. But when do we think of the men who first opened these treasures of our early days, the men who traced the streams to their source, found facts and brought back the materials out of which we build our modern libraries of specialized history?

There was a time less than ninety years ago when a great part of our early history was to be found only in widely scattered sources, in the archives and record offices, in public documents and private collections of letters in Europe and America. Many of the circumstances that made history in the transplanting of settlements from the old soil of Europe to the environment of a new world were not known. Facts of law and human right, facts of proprietary and popular and colonial legislation, facts of our Catholic Indian missions from Maine to New Mexico and the extreme Southwest, from Florida to the headwaters of the Mississippi and the Missouri were still locked away in the archives and private sources of two continents. Some of these

[1] Paper read at the Seventh Annual Meeting of American Catholic Historical Association, Philadelphia, Dec. 27-29, 1926.

were quite safe perhaps, but generally they were out of reach when facts were wanted about the history of early times.

The year 1928 will mark the ninetieth anniversary of the first publication of *The Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella*, the first in the historical series which established the reputation of William Hickling Prescott and gave him rank as one of America's leading historians. *The Conquest of Mexico* followed in 1843, *The Conquest of Peru* in 1847. *The Reign of Philip II* was still incomplete when Prescott died in January, 1859.

The subjects which Prescott studied honestly and presented with the added force of a masterful literary style hardly appeal to the readers of the present day. Many of his conclusions or inferences on American enthnology and pre-Columbian culture have been changed by later search and discovery. At a distance of ninety years we do not see at the same angle, we do not judge from the same premises with the contemporaries of Prescott. This is not saying that our judgment is better or that our point of view is superior to the view or the vision of the men who studied history in the first half of the nineteenth century. We have the advantage of perspective in American history, where they saw at close range. We have more facts to study, more things that we ought to know, which our predecessors in the field of history could not know for the simple reason that they were still to be quarried from the rough rock, and brought in from original sources. In 1840 these facts must still be found and fitted into the building which stands for the story of our life as a nation.

Here was the hard work of historical scholarship, that still remained to be done when Prescott wrote, and when George Bancroft began his standard ten volumes, a work of forty years. The first volume was published in 1834, the last in 1874.

There is something arbitrary always in dividing history into periods and marking lines of separation; but there is something objective also, something proper and peculiar to the times, that makes one group of facts or one number of years different from another. The years 1840 to 1890 were years of gathering in for American History—they were the years during which our source materials were shaped into new narrative form. The facts of

three hundred and fifty years, facts of adventure, exploration, beginnings, aims and results were then first brought together and shown to belong to the life of the people and the nation.

The men who did this pioneer work of searching and collecting, work of untold patience and perseverance, deserve the everlasting gratitude of the generations that follow them. We hold their names in honor. We venerate them for their unselfish devotion to the cause of history. Our purpose here is not to multiply the honor list of their names.[2] They who did the least in the field of historical research have done much. The only thought is to point out here what Catholics have done to make history and to make the traditions of history known during this formative period of American historical literature.

It is rather disconcerting to note how little had been done in the way of a popular and standard literature of American History up to the end of the first decade of this period, that is, 1840 to 1850. Hildreth's six volumes were published in 1849 and 1850. In 1843 the Harpers were still publishing, as a popular American classic, the work of the Scotch historian, William Robertson's *History of the Discovery and Early Settlement of America*. This book has been a standard in its time, but the time was 1777, when it was first printed in England. England was then at war with her American Colonies. We value Robertson's History now, but it is the value of a type, not the standard that it was when it issued from the press of the Harpers in 1843.

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[2]Prior to the studies and research of Shea we have the *History of Early Catholic Missions in Kentucky from 1787 to the Jubilee of 1826-27*—compiled from authentic sources with the assistance of the Rev. Stephen Theodore Badin, first priest ordained in the United States—by M. J. SPALDING. Published by Webb Bros. Louisville, 1844.

JAMES ROOSEVELT BAYLEY'S *Early History of the Catholic Church on the Island of New York*, 1853. Revised and enlarged in 1870.

Irish Settlers in North America and *Catholic History of North America*—originally in lecture form—were published by THOMAS D'ARCY MCGEE in 1852 and 1854.

JOHN PETER DESMET, the pioneer Jesuit missionary of the Northwest, published *Letters and Sketches of Indian Life*. Philadelphia, 1843, and *Oregon Missions and Travels Over the Rocky Mountains*. New York, 1847, *Western Missions and Missionaries*, 1863, *New Indian Sketches*, 1865. BERNARD U. CAMPBELL, who died in 1855, gathered much material for the Life of Archbishop Carroll, published in the *U. S. Catholic Magazine*. Shea speaks highly of Campbell's qualities as a historian, vol. 4, pp. 376-377.

Definite information about the facts of our early provincial and colonial history was the element that was wanting. To find these facts, to set them in place in their own environment, where they were things of interest and life, was work that demanded the genius and devotion of historians. The two men who did this work and did it well for our general history as well as for the history of the Church in America are John Gilmary Shea and Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan.

The History of the New Netherland was Doctor O'Callaghan's first great contribution to American sources. O'Callaghan was a physician, practiced his profession and was a member of the Albany County Medical Association during the early years of his historical labors—The occasion for the studies which resulted in the *History of the New Netherland* was O'Callaghan's interest in the political agitations known now as the "anti-rent wars." The claims of the old Patroons, secured by Charter of the Dutch West Indies Company of 1629, and the rights of their former tenants of 1840 involved facts that must be studied at first hand. O'Callaghan secured the documents, learned the language of the Dutch in order to be sure of his subject; and in 1846 to 1849 he published the two volumes which remain a lasting authority on the facts and laws of the time—one of the first source books on the colonization and settlement of America. There are described for the first time the actual life and conditions of some of our earliest settlers on the soil, the Dutch Calvinists along the Hudson and the Delaware and the Connecticut Rivers, on Long Island Sound, Staten Island and Manhatten. The four volumes of *Documentary History of the State of New York* were published 1849 to 1851. In them Doctor O'Callaghan has arranged, edited, and in part translated the papers and letters of the State Archives at Albany. Many of these Documents are copies of originals in London, Paris and the Provinces of Canada. O'Callaghan's work ranks among the first endeavors to secure and make accessable for reference the earliest sources of exploration and settlement in the State of New York. The publication of our own *Provincial and Colonial Records of Pennsylvania* was begun in 1852. O'Callaghan, evidently had shown the way. In these volumes of *Documentary History* is the

first authentic account in English form of early Catholic missions in the interior of the State, the work of the French Jesuits among the Hurons, Iriquois and Ottawas during the first half of the seventeenth century. There are described the ordinances which governed the little communities of early settlers among themselves and their relations of trade and social life with the Indians and the French of the interior. There is the full text of the Report of Governor Dongan to the Home Government made in 1687. This Report describes the state of the Province during the five years of Dongan's administration, 1682 to 1687. The merit of these collected materials, the documents and sources of colonial history is that they can be studied now at leisure. They are like a series of pictures from the life of the times.

The list of O'Callaghan's publications is very long. The titles of documents and source materials which he edited for the State Archives and his own studies in colonial and provincial history read like a bibliography for the history of New York. The material records and the facts of early times which he saved for future historians are beyond price in terms of merely human and passing value. O'Callaghan died in 1880, May 28. No historian, it is safe to say, has served the great Empire State more faithfully, few have done more in the history of our country toward recovering and preserving the priceless records of Provincial and Colonial times. The Resolution passed by the New York Historical Society on the occasion of O'Callaghan's death is a lasting tribute to his scholarships and worth: "Resolved that in recording upon its minutes the death of this devoted historical scholar this Society desires to renew its grateful acknowledgement of indebtedness to him for the invaluable services he has rendered his State and Country in the field of American history during the past forty years."

A sketch of the career of John Gilmary Shea, who has justly been named "The Father of American Catholic History," in a paper like this must be limited necessarily to a review of main points. In making this review we must keep in mind always some thought of the chronology of American historians. We must remember the relative position of Shea's work to later

research and studies that have fixed a new standard in the literature of American History.

When Shea published *The Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley* in 1852, George Bancroft's History had come only as far as the fifth volume. The sixth volume was not published until 1865, and the tenth volume in 1874. The thirty-nine volumes of Hubert Howe Bancroft for the history of the Southwest, the Pacific and Rocky Mountain States and the coast as far north as Alaska were not published until 1886 to 1895. Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America* came out during the years 1886 to 1889. John Bach Macmaster's first volume of *The History of the People of the United States* came from the press in 1883. Francis Parkman's first volume, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac* were published in 1851, but *The Pioneers of New France* and later works were published after 1863. Parkman and H. H. Bancroft had the advantage of materials gathered in Shea's *Discovery and Exploration* and the *History of Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the United States.* Shea's work was the guide and the index to those who followed him.

The reputation of Shea as a historian was established by the publication of *The Discovery and Exploration* in 1852 and *The History of Catholic Missions* in 1854. It was acknowledged generally that Shea had gone to the quarries and brought out the material for the future building of narrative and critical history. The plan of the *Discovery and Exploration* is the same as that of O'Callaghan's *Documentary History.* It arranges and edits the original accounts of the Explorers, Marquett, Membré, Hennepin, Douay and Dablon with other documents referring to the discoveries of La Salle. *The History of the Catholic Missions* opened a new field in history and American ethnology. In the Preface to this volume Shea states that "the present work was undertaken at the suggestion of President Sparks" (of Harvard). Referring to the sources from which materials were gathered Shea says: "The missionary efforts which we chronicle were made in different bodies, and their history is to be sought in distant and widely separate archives. Many volumes published in France, Spain and Mexico give us details more or less extended as to particular missions

during certain periods: much still lies in manuscript in Rome, Madrid, Mexico, Havana, Quebec; more has been destroyed, especially in France during the last century. The present work is the result of ten years of collecting and research."

The *History of the Catholic Missions* brings out one point consistently. Shea refers to it in the Preface to his work—Christianity among the Indians could show results. *The Jesuit Relations,* reports made to superiors and letters written to stimulate the missionary spirit in Europe, record facts of slow and hard earned progress. The account of the Pueblos in the Southwest describes the training of the natives in the arts of civilization, the printing of glossaries and grammars and books of instruction in the native tongues for the use of the missions early in the seventeenth century, before Jamestown and Plymouth were securely founded. These facts are now quite generally known. They are easily found in almost every public library, in the collected materials of Hubert Howe Bancroft and in the seventy-three volumes of *The Jesuit Relations* edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites (1896-1901). But when Shea was writing the *History of Catholic Missions,* before 1854, the influences of these heralds of civilization among the native tribes were generally unknown. A few of the Jesuits' "Reports" referring to the missions in the interior of the State had been translated and printed in the *Documentary History of New York.*.. Some others had been published also by O'Callaghan in the original French from Canadian archives; but the great mass of facts, the material for the *History of the Catholic Indian Missions* was new. The place which these facts hold in American History today is one of importance. We meet the facts in every study of early exploration, discovery and ethnology. We owe it to John Gilmary Shea, more than to any other historian that the facts have their place now on the chart of American History.

The Library of American Linguistics, a series of fifteen volumes printed during the years 1860 to 1873, is another subject connected with the *History of the Missions,* to which Shea gave the time, the study and the care of translator, editor, and publisher—These fifteen volumes are the Vocabularies, Grammars, Word-books, and studies in the structure of language

of different tribes of Indians all over the United States and parts of Canada in the Northeast. Originally these books were the work of the missionaries in their endeavor to master the tongues of the natives among whom they labored, to bring them into harmony with the construction and rules of the languages of Europe.

Beyond their ethnological value these word studies prove the practical results of missionary zeal. They show us the beginnings of self-discipline, mental training, the exercise of thought among the natives, necessarily connected with the fact of teaching and learning. These language manuals are the beginnings and types of Christian culture in life and art.

The Cramoisy series was another venture in publishing by which Shea endeavored to make early and original facts the common property of our standard history—These publications are new impression of an original series printed in France—They describe, as originally reported, the early voyages, explorations and discoveries with the first essays to educate the natives and to provide for the spiritual and religious needs of European traders and settlers.—The publication of this series was begun in 1857. In all twenty-six small volumes were published.

In 1872 Shea published *The Child's History of the United States* in three large volumes. This evidently was planned to be a standard narrative text. The general make-up is excellent. The type, paper and illustrations would indicate that the purpose was to make it a household work of reference. It must be admitted, I believe, that, if we have advanced over the methods of 1870 in the control of the book trade, we have lost something in the way of good taste in book-making.

The genius and the devotion of John Gilmary Shea to history and the care of its records are seen probably at their best in the last great work of his life—*The History of the Catholic Church in the United States*—An appeal for subscriptions and the financial support of this work was sent out in 1885, in which Shea speaks plainly of the aims and the success of his chosen life work:—"Most of the leisure hours of my life," he says, "and much of my means have been devoted to studies, as well as to the acquisition of every book, periodical, paper and document, whose existence I could trace, bearing on the early and actual

history of the Church in this country—The Indian Missions, the organization of the Church under English, French and Spanish rule, the religious life and discipline that grew up, the vicissitudes of the Church and its ultimate steady development to its present condition. It has been the purpose of my life to write this history, hoping that the evening of my days would give me the means and the leisure to accomplish the task."

The plan and the purpose of the work were encouraged by the Fathers assembled in the third Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1884. The financial aid of generous friends made the publication of the four volumes possible only a short time before the death of Shea, Feb. 22, 1892.

It is to be noted that the material facts gathered into this four volume work of Church History reach far beyond the limits of Catholic interest and ecclesiastical affairs. All the early voyages of discovery and exploration were made in the name of Catholic sovereigns of Spain, France and England. It was the zeal of Catholic missionaries that first taught the natives and began to train them in the arts of civilized life. The beginnings of European settlements in Maryland, in the Middle West, in Ohio and Illinois, Kentucky, Missouri, Minnesota and the Northwest are identified with the story of Catholic colonists from England and immigrants from the Catholic people of Ireland, France and Germany.

There is one note of difference between the actual work of Shea's researches and the great historians who were contemporaneous or who followed him in the field of search—Prescott and the Bancrofts had at command the financial means to find facts and to have documents and records copied and collected. Shea worked forty years out of love and devotion to the cause of knowledge in history. Shea's only wealth was his great soul, his character as a man and a scholar. His gift to the world was his work.

Looking back over the history and the historians of Christianity we can see parallels and conditions that are sometimes strikingly similar in the making and the writing of history. There are some periods of history that have been done, the records have been found and gathered in, and the work will not be done over. Eusebius made the first great collection in the history

of the Church. His work is standard. St. Bede the Venerable made a collection for the early history of Christianity in England. It is the classic of its time to A. D. 731. John Gilmary Shea did a like work for history and the Church in America. We use the materials of these original masters in history, we make new narrative forms out of their source information. We can not recast or change their work. We can not rebuild what they have planned.

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WILLIAM PENN AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN AMERICA[1]

At this time, when celebrating the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of American Independence, it is well to refresh our minds with some of the characters who contributed to the establishment of the principles which gave the United States its identity.

We of Philadelphia, who are proud of the conspicuous part this city played before and during those eventful days of 1776, are particularly zealous for the recognition of its noble founder, William Penn, whose principles were largely those which our Revolution sought to establish. Penn's great doctrines of liberty of conscience and equality, while taken for granted today, were in his time—nearly a century before our Independence—startling innovations. He was indeed, a man "great of heart and great of mind," yet, as we shall see, like all men subject to human weaknesses.

I

The historical background and the environment in which William Penn lived are of the utmost importance in endeavoring to understand him. Penn was the product of an age of political and religious unrest—when men had convictions! With the tendency to indifference today, in a country where the principles of free government are firmly established and full liberty in regard to religion is recognized, it is difficult for any of us to appreciate England of the 17th century, when men were made to suffer unspeakable things for conscience sake.

Penn was born in 1644, shortly before the coming into power of the Puritan party and the beheading of Charles I. He was a lad of sixteen as the full tide of reaction against Puritanism set in, following the Restoration under Charles II. In matters religious, the Restoration was a triumph for the Church of England, which had been proscribed under Cromwell. Immediately the Puritan party was driven out, its leaders were exiled and those of the Established Church were swept back into power.

1 Paper read at the seventh annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, Philadelphia, Dec. 27-29, 1926.

The Thirty-nine Articles were reasserted as essentials of Faith and the Act of Uniformity was again passed. These changes brought down persecution upon Protestant dissenters and Catholics alike. It was well known that Charles himself leaned towards Catholicity, and this fact, coupled with the growing power of France under Louis XIV, and the fear of an invasion in order to restore the Catholic Church filled the minds of Englishmen with indescribable dread. The antagonism manifested was more political than religious, for to be a "Papist" meant to the popular mind some one who wished to see the existing system government overthrown and the supreme power of the Church vested in one outside England. Therefore, not only were Catholics hunted down like wild beasts, but the bitterest anti-Catholic propaganda flooded the land so that slanders against "Popery" and "Papists" were in every one's mouth,—for the great mass of people through ignorance, supposed them capable of any atrocity. The persecutions of Protestant dissenters during this period arose likewise from mixed motives. The Puritan element so lately driven from power might well be expected to plot against the existing order, although their leaders had either been executed or sent into exile. Therefore, the most rigid conformity to the Established Church, in outward appearance at least, was required. Out of the welter of these contending forces a new element began early to manifest itself, namely the desire for peace and for freedom to live one's own individual life. The ideas of human equality advanced by the St. Thomas, of Aquin and Bellarmine, had been made familiar in England thru the refutation of their doctrine by Sir Robert Filmer, who under James I, in his work *Patriarcha* had pleaded the cause of the royal prerogative. These conflicting doctrines became a storm center of philosophical controversy; and embodied in the works of Algernon Sydney and John Locke, they crossed the Atlantic, were caught up a hundred years later and reflected in that great instrument of human freedom—the Declaration of Independence; so it was during those troublous years 1649-1690 the genius of one of England's greatest philosophers, and that of one of her wisest law-givers, was slowly maturing. In Holland, in exile, John Locke was meditating his *Letters of Tolerance and his Treaties on Government;* in prison,

in England, William Penn was devising a code of laws that would insure religious and civil liberty to all the people.[2]

William Penn inherited his virile energy, conscientious courage and gentlemanly bearing from his father, Admiral Penn, a man who had risen through his own efforts to high distinction in the King's Navy. Although he brought up his son to be a gentleman, soldier and man of the world, yet at the age of twenty-two the youth revolted from such a life and embraced at Cork, Ireland, the faith of a then new religious sect called Quakers, a much persecuted and despised group of English non-Conformists. Born as Penn was into such an atmosphere of violent and contending emotions, given his strong mind and powerful will it was inevitable that he should take a decided stand of his own upon reaching maturity. Every possible effort was made by Admiral Penn to dissuade his son from joining the society, but to no effect; nor was any obloquy that was heaped upon him by his father, nor any subsequent suffering ever able to shake this constancy.

The religious society which he had joined was a convinced and sincere people who repudiated the lifeless formulism of the Established Church; one of their chief tenets was a dependence of each individual upon the Holy Spirit, which they held would lead into all truth. George Fox, the founder of Quakerism, has been compared to St. Francis of Assisi, in his love of simplicity, his honesty, his directness and his humility. He lacked, however, the poetic fire that burned in the soul of the Italian Saint—nor is there any trace in the somber English mystic of that welling joy which is so characteristic of "il poverello." Nevertheless, there is so much Catholicity in the teaching of George Fox, that it may well be true, as has been said, that had England been Catholic at the time of his mission, he would logically have been the founder of a Third Order. But the real innovation of Quakerism in the land which gave it birth was the stand it took for human equality. It was because the Quaker believed all men to be *equal* that he refused to take off his hat even to magistrates and kings. For the same reason he refused to use the plural form of address when speaking to one person. From the first, women

2 "Virginia Declaration of Rights and Cardinal Bellarmine" GAILLARD HUNT *Cath. Historical Review*, Vol. III, pp. 276-289.

were given equal weight with men in Quaker meetings for business and no distinction was drawn between the sexes in regard to Gospel ministry. These were the principles which strongly attracted William Penn and for which he, like his brethren, was willing to sacrifice his life.

For fifteen years after his conversion he was constantly preaching Quaker doctrine in England and on the continent, while at the same time writing countless pamphlets explanatory of his adopted faith. He made himself spokesman of the Quakers, ever utilizing his influence at court to secure the lessening of the penalties imposed upon them and an amelioration of their sufferings. Often he, himself, suffered imprisonment and ignomies of the grossest kind for his violation of the penal laws, which were equally severe on Quakers, although originally only directed against Catholics. "My prison," said Penn, "shall be my grave before I will budge a jot, for I owe obedience of my conscience to no mortal man." Even while bearing the heavy responsibilities as governor of his colony he did not cease his arduous labors which the spreading of the teachings of Fox entailed. Indeed his efforts were not confined to protesting against the bigoted religious intolerance of his day; ever a champion and defender of civil liberty as well, he was one of the first to denounce the absurd practice of imprisonment for debt; and fearlessly asserted that the civil magistrates had no rightful authority over conscience. Penn's trial at Old Baily resulted, says BUELL (*William Penn as the Founder of Two Commonwealths*, p. 88) in the "last attempt ever made by an English judge to terrorize a jury with a view to extort from them a verdict contrary to the facts, the laws and their oaths." In Penn's speech before Parliament, when defending his attacks against the laws of non-Conformity he said (1678): "I am far from thinking it fit, because I exclaim against the injustice of whipping Quakers for Paptists, that Papists should be whipt for their consciences."

But in spite of Penn's crusades, his trials and his imprisonments, he found time to raise a family and proved to be a devoted husband and loving father. Penn's touching letter to his wife, written when about to leave England for America, wherein he states his ideas concerning the bringing up of his children, is a classic. "For their education," he says, "be liberal, spare no

cost; for by such parsimony all is lost that is saved; but let it be useful knowledge, such as is consistent with truth and holiness, not cherishing a vain conversation or idle mind, but ingenuity mixed with industry is good for the body and mind too." And again—"Love not money nor the world; use them only, and they will serve you; but if you love them you serve them, which will debase your spirits as well as offend the Lord."

Penn's aristocratic birth, his pleasing personality, his wealth, liberal education and social standing made him a man of great influence, and what was more important, gave him an ear with the Court. His intimacy with the Duke of York, afterwards James II, was of inestimable value when Penn later became the founder of a colony.

Penn's first experience in dealing with the inevitable difficulties which attend the carrying out of his ideas, came in 1674 when closely associated with others in the founding of West Jersey. He profited much by the mistakes made in this settlement when he entered upon a similar adventure of his own a few years later. In 1681 he was granted a Charter by Charles II for a large tract of land on the other side of the Delaware. This territory he wished to call, simply "Sylvania," but the King, notwithstanding Penn's protest, prefixed to it the name of its founder. Most authorities claim that Penn received this grant in exchange for a debt of 16,000 pounds due to Admiral Penn from the Crown. Charles Allen Tansill, whose comprehensive monograph (*A Dissertation on the Pennsylvania-Maryland Boundary Dispute*) will later be our guide, when considering the long-drawn-out controversy between William Penn and Lord Baltimore, points out (p. 30) that this "Obligation had been removed from the the shoulders of Charles II by the "Stop" of the Exchequer in 1672, and the province of Pennsylvania was bestowed merely as a means of extricating Penn from his financial difficulties." This conclusion is doubtless derived from one of Penn's letters to a friend in 1698 in which he says: "Had I pressed my own debts with King James that his brother owed me, there had been 16,000 pounds."

In seeking for the underlying causes which induced William Penn to turn his mind towards the establishment of an asylum for the persecuted of all persuasions, it is necessary to bear in

mind not only the seething turmoil of ideas which permeated the atmosphere surrounding his youth and early manhood, already spoken of, but we must also take into account the intensely practical nature of his mind. With him, to imbibe an idea was to act; a fact of which his whole life is the illustration; while the dogged tenacity with which he clung to his course when once entered upon is typical of the nation which produced him.

Quaker persecution of which, as we have seen, Penn himself was very often the victim, raged in England from about 1647, just before the advent of Cromwell down to 1687, soon after the accession of James II, a period of nearly forty years. At first, as has been shown, Quakers suffered under the laws made to suppress Catholics but as time went on special laws were instituted to meet the particular problems belonging to themselves. The principal breaches of law for which Quakers suffered were; refusal to support the Established Church or to attend its services; to take off the hat before judges or magistrates; to take an oath or give military service; moreover they persisted in holding their meetings for worship openly although such were specially proscribed by law. For these and kindred offenses they were arrested and thrown into prison; their property was taken from them; they were publicly whipped or exposed to the infamy of the pillory. It is estimated that four hundred died in prison and that a hundred more succumbed as a result of the violence and ill usage they had received. As many as 4,500 of this sect were known to be in English prisons at one time. (*Encyclopedia Britannica*—"Friends, Society of")

Under such circumstances it is small wonder that a man of William Penn's mould, given his social position and wealth, should have sought to provide a refuge for the people whose principles he had espoused, or that in so doing he should have wished to include those of other persuasions who suffered for conscience sake. His grant of land proved to be a great blessing since it opened the way for him to develop his genius as a statesman, law-giver and benefactor to mankind.

It would, however, be wrong to attribute to William Penn the glory of being the first to found an American colony with religious toleration established by law. As is well known, Lord Baltimore as early as 1632; Roger Williams a few years later

and the Quaker Proprietaries in West Jersey about 1676, had laid the basis of toleration in their respective colonies. In Maryland, Rhode Island and in New Jersey, Quakers and Catholics alike were at that time secure against persecution. In the other American colonies, however, Quakers fared no better than in England. The trials they suffered in the New World were brought about by the same unwillingness to conform to the law as they exhibited in England. In the Carolinas, Virginia, New York, Connecticut and Massachusetts where the union of Church and State was rigorously defended by legislation, neither Quaker nor Catholic was permitted to enjoy even civil liberty. SANFORD H. COBB, in his *Rise of Religious Liberty in America*, has gone into a thorough analysis of the situation regarding these matters, in each of the colonies. In New Amsterdam he says, before the Dutch were driven out, the presence of Quakers was considered an "offense and danger." New Haven passed a law which said: "Quakers shall not be suffered in this jurisdiction." In Connecticut "Shipmasters were fined twenty pounds for bringing Quakers to the Colony,"—while in Massachusetts they were shamefully tortured, unjustly imprisoned and even put to death. The full force of the law was carried out in this last mentioned Colony with a rigor elsewhere unknown. This fact explains the fanaticism of which Quakers doubtless in some instances were justly accused, for boldly denouncing in language neither gentle nor dignified, and that to the very faces of the magistrates, the iniquitous laws which they made it their business to break. Again and again these Quaker "fanatics" returned to suffer for "truth" as they termed it, and in some cases even unto death. The last execution was in 1659. "The population at large," says COBB, (p. 218) ". . . were outraged . . . no more executions were allowed." Long before William Penn received his charter the outrageous laws against Quakers were a dead letter even in Massachusetts.

As regards Catholics, except in Maryland and Rhode Island, they were proscribed from the outset. From Georgia to Plymouth Rock there was "no room" for Catholics. If they were tolerated at all they were denied freedom of worship and "places of trust." In Virginia "Papists" were not even allowed to keep a horse "above the value of five pounds on pain of forfeiture."

William Penn desired that Catholics as well as Protestants should have full civil and religious equality, but he limited in his frame of government "all officers and persons whatsoever in government (to) such as profess faith in Jesus Christ." In this, his code of laws was more exclusive than that of Roger Williams who has, according to COBB (p. 423) "the signal honor of first defining that liberty (freedom of mind and conscience from civil bonds) in constitutional terms, untrammelled by any past or present prejudice, with a breadth of view and fullness of statement unsurpassed by any legal prescriptions of a later day." William Penn was very far from such a conception of liberty of conscience for in his code he says further: in order "That looseness, irreligion and atheism may not creep in under any pretense of conscience in this Province, Be it enacted, that . . . every first day of the week people shall abstain . . . from common toil . . . , That whether Masters, Parents, Children, or servants, they may the better dispose themselves to read the Scriptures of truth at home, or frequent such meetings for religious worship as may best suit their respective persuasions." Freedom of Catholics to hold office, which Penn granted, was unfortunately of short duration, for in 1702 William and Mary required Pennsylvania to adopt the Toleration Act, which included the "oath" no Catholic in conscience could take, thereby assuring to Protestants the reins of power.

These events, however, were not forseen by Penn when he wrote in his Charter, adopted at Chester, Pa., December 10, 1682, "I do hereby grant and declare, that no persons inhabiting in this province who shall acknowledge one Almighty God, shall in any case be molested in his estate because of his conscientious persuasion, nor be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious worship." In proclaiming this magnanimous toleration he performed the greatest act of his career, and in making the spirit of equality the keynote of his whole life he stamped himself as a great man for all time—notwithstanding the fact that there were defects in his character which respect for truth will not let us ignore.

Penn's religious idealism regarding his colony manifests itself repeatedly in his writings, as for instance where he says: "Our business therefore, is not so much to build houses, and

establish factories, and promote trade, to enrich ourselves; as to erect temples of holiness and righteousness, which God may delight in; to lay such lasting foundations of temperance and virtue, as may support the structures of our future happiness both in this and the other world." what a truly sublime conception of a habitation for his fellow-men! Here we have Penn at his noblest!

As a law-giver Penn's wisdom is manifest in his frame of government written in 1682, ". . . any government," he says, "is free to the people under it, whatever be its frame, where the laws rule and the people are a party to those laws; and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy or confusion . . . . Wherefore governments rather depend upon men than men upon governments. Let men be bad and the government ever so good, they will endeavor to warp and spoil it in its turn." Though William Penn was capable of conceiving in the abstract such noble principles of self-government, he did not hesitate to act with a "high hand" when once his colony was established. In practice he showed little sympathy for instance, with the Assembly when that body objected to the Council initiating legislation. He even went so far as to threaten to change the whole frame of government unless the constant feuds between the Council and Assembly ceased.

In his zeal to comply with a fundamental doctrine, which as a Quaker, Penn held, namely a disbelief in war and armed resistance of any kind, even defensive, he fell into another grave error in statesmanship. In the Charter for his Colony he submitted to the Crown's prerogative to levy taxes for defense purposes in case of necessity. By thus compromising he hoped to satisfy his conscientious scruples against war, but by allowing this clause to be inserted in the Charter, he sacrificed the rights of his colonists to tax themselves. It was a violation of the fundamental principles of self-government which became one of the reasons for our revolution less than a hundred years later. Indeed, Penn's greatest trouble between his colony and the home government came from the persistent refusal of the Quakers to defend themselves. BUELL says (p. 63) in relation to Penn's ambition to be both a good Quaker and a wise governor: "He was a preacher and tract writer because of George Fox and Thomas

Loe; he was a statesman and enlightened law-giver in spite of them."

Although a pioneer in developing self-government and popular representation, it must nevertheless be admitted that had his scheme for land ownership in Pennsylvania been strictly carried out it would have produced an aristocracy of land-holders, for he provided that anyone buying 5,000 acres in the province was intitled to 100 acres in the town. (BUELL, p. 122). On the other hand, as proof that Penn's colony was a "Holy Experiment and profit a secondary consideration," there is the fact that he refused a large monetary offer from a syndicate who wanted a monopoly of the Indian trade, and that he told them he "aimed only at equal justice and righteousness and to spreading of the truth; not at his own particular gain" and "would keep undefiled, and for equal benefit of all, that which the Lord gave to him clean, and would give to none privilege or monopoly over another." Nor must we forget, in assessing William Penn's merits as a law-giver, that in his treatment of the Indians he came as near to an ideal Christian justice as any man can hope to attain. He permitted no settlement of land unless by purchase from the rightful owners. In his famous Treaty he said: "We are met on the broad pathway of good faith, and good will, so that no advantage is to be taken on either side, but all to be openness, brotherhood and love . . . I will consider you as the same flesh and blood with the Christians, and the same as if one man's body were to be divided into two parts."

II

It has been said of William Penn that he was "born in turbulent times, paradoxically to become the apostle of peace . . . springing from aristocracy to announce the true democracy." Though an avowed disbeliever in war, his life was a continual conflict in which he relied mostly upon his prolific pen to fight his many battles. "As to his authorship," says BUELL, "twenty-six books are extant; they require little review beyond the remark that no Quaker library is complete without them and they are seldom found in any other." Notwithstanding BUELL'S clever thrust, if we would understand the man we must indeed read his works; for only in them is to be found the true William Penn.

William Penn's attitude towards all things Catholic, as shown by his writings, is indeed a strange mixture of intolerance and tolerance, arrogance and sympathy, as well as ignorance of the true teachings of the Church. That in the beginning he thoroughly disbelieved in Catholic doctrines we have overwhelming evidence; for alas, his mind, like so many great minds, was blind to the divine origin of the Church. He frequently quotes Ballarmine, Thomas of Aquin and the early Fathers,—which gives the appearance of an effort to understand Catholic doctrine; the superficiality of his studies in this regard, becomes apparent, however, when his writings against "Popish" dogmas are seriously examined.

It was because of the ardent plea for freedom of religion, found in his early writings that Penn was constantly accused of being a "Papist," "Jesuit," "Emissary of Rome," etc.; he was even charged "with keeping a Jesuit to write his books." Indeed, by many, all Quakers were supposed to be "Jesuits in disguise." In a frank letter to William Popple, a close friend, who had warned him that his enemies suspected him of being a Papist, Penn wrote in 1688: "I do say with all sincerity that I am not only no Jesuit; but no Papist; and which is more I never had any temptation upon me to be it, neither from doubts in my own mind about the way I profess, nor from the discourses or writings of any of that religion." (*Life of William Penn*, by SAMUEL M. JANNEY, p. 331). These words leave no doubt as to Penn's attitude, and indeed they are mild words compared to others that he uses in his denunciation of Catholics; words which are often too vulgar to quote. Yet to the same friend he goes on to say: "If the asserting of an impartial liberty of conscience, if doing things to others as he would be done by, an open avowing and a steady practicing of these things at all times and to all parties, will justly lay a man under the reflection of being a Jesuit or Papist of any sort, I must not only submit to the character but embrace it too." (JANNEY, p. 334). Thus we find Penn ever courageous to proclaim his views, even when they seem to stamp his character with inconsistency. At times he denounced Catholics in the most violent terms, even while announcing his principles of toleration, as in the preface to his *Seasonable Caveat Against Popery* (Penn's Works), published in

1670, wherein he states: "I desire nothing less than incensing the civil magistrates against them (the Catholics) . . . I profess myself a friend to an universal toleration of faith and worship" and he proceeds with a bitter attack, in the stock terms of the anti-Catholic propaganda of the day, the immorality of Papists, and contemptuously denouncing their beliefs and practices, and in particular the doctrine of transubstantiation! This was during those early years of unrestrained zeal when Penn and his co-religionists were themselves suffering bitter persecution; "Stocks, Whips, Gaols, Dungeons, Praemunires, Sequestrations and Banishment," as he says. It seems to have been an *idée fixe* with him, at this period, to convince the magistracy that Quakers had no connection with Rome.

A second outburst of anti-Catholic sentiment came from Penn during the year 1679, at the height of the excitement over an alleged discovery of a plot to blow up Parliament and restore the Catholic Church through French aid. On this occasion he enters the political field, though his main desire still is to convince the public that Quakers are no Papists. His pamphlets, *An Address to Protestants of all Persuasions, England's Great Interest in the Choice of Parliament and One Project for the Good of England* (Penn's Works) are all directed against Catholics and are a call to Protestant union. "We must be secured from popery and slavery," he says, by voting only for "sincere Protestants." He warns against "disguised papists ready to pull off the mask when time serves," and boldly insinuates that "principles which introduce implicit faith and blind obedience in religion will also introduce implicit faith and blind obedience in government." These articles mark the end of Penn's attacks upon the Church.

It will be remembered that the father of the Founder, Admiral Penn, served under the Duke of York, who was Lord High Admiral, and that he assisted in obtaining the decisive victory over the Dutch in 1662. A warm friendship always existed between the Admiral and the Duke, a friendship which was continued to the son after Admiral Penn's death. In 1672 the Duke of York occasioned great consternation in England by announcing his conversion to the Catholic Church and by marrying a Catholic princess. Measures attempting to bar him from the succession were brought before Parliament but they did not suc-

ceed and in February, 1685, he ascended the throne as James II. His immediate attention was then turned to the amelioration of the condition of his oppressed co-religionists and of all those suffering for conscience sake. It was but natural therefore, that under these conditions Penn should forget his past animosity towards Papists. His intense desire to see the Penal Laws abolished, under which the Quakers suffered equally with Catholics, made it inevitable that he should now cease his tirades against "Popery" and adopt the one and only course that would help him to his goal. We will not be surprised therefore, if his writings of this period are in contradiction to all that he had said previously about Catholics. Indeed he here turns a complete about-face and argues that after all there is no danger of the Catholic religion becoming a menace to Protestant England; but what must be admitted as surprising is that he should do this in a tone that suggests he never thought otherwise! His pamphlets, *A Persuasive to Moderation* and *Good Advice to the Church of England,* etc., present an earnest plea for Catholics. "Let us be tolerant of all Christians," he says, and he even admits that the doctrine of transubstantiation is not so idolatrous as one might imagine, and that Catholics are "sensible people"!

In the character study of William Penn, found in the monograph before alluded to, TANSILL says: (p. 57) "His original feelings towards the Catholic Church, and his subsequent modifications of them, reveal a truly marvelous skill in trimming his sails to meet the varying winds of circumstance . . . At first bitterly hostile to every doctrine and tradition of that Church (he) became in turn a powerful friend of Catholics and in his writings supported their claims to toleration." One would like to believe that the strong-minded Penn, who boasted of being more Protestant than the Protestants, was not actuated by duplicity in thus championing those now in power, whom he had before so bitterly denounced, but that his experience with life and intimate association with his royal friends had brought reason and intelligence into combination with his undoubtedly sincere disposition to do good—making him more broad-minded and more generous than he had heretofore been. The choice remains to those who prefer to take negative view, but after weighing all aspects of his character the pronounced greatness both of mind

and heart still maintains its ascendency, even though as CHANNING says (*History of United States*, Vol. 11, p. 102): "There is much in his career that is hard to reconcile with the uprighteousness of character and scrupulousness of dealing which one has a right to expect in a leader of a religious sect."

Nowhere does this questionable element in Penn's character come out with more force than in his dealings with Lord Baltimore regarding the boundary settlement between Pennsylvania and Maryland. In TANSILL'S monograph, this is called "One of the most complicated chapters in American history." The story of the dispute is told by Tansill in a masterly and scientific way and what follows here is based largely on his conclusions.

When Penn applied for a grant of land in the New World he wanted, first of all, a good harbor. It was absolutely essential to his success. He undoubtedly believed that Charles II intended he should have such a harbor. But prior to Penn's opening negotiations for settlement of the boundary line between himself and Charles Calvert, Third Lord Baltimore, he found that he could obtain no legal title to the three counties; and furthermore, that if the terms of the first Lord Baltimore's Charter of 1632 were strictly carried out he would be deprived of the logical site of his city of Philadelphia at the junction of the Delaware and Schuylkill rivers. One might suppose that such discoveries would have disheartened the prospective Founder of a colony which was to be a "Holy Experiment." Not at all. Penn was a man born to meet difficulties and to triumph over them. The ones which now presented themselves were of a nature not to be overcome by frontal attack, and Penn was far too wise to make any such attempt. The diplomatic way in which he now proceeds reveals to us another side of his character. "With all softness to a friendly arrangement" (TANSIL, p. 45) as he says, yet with evasions, postponements, duplicity in reasoning, adroit management, he keeps the settlement from being made during his lifetime—while calmly going forward with his development of the entire tract, which from the first he had intended should be his.

Briefly summed up the situation was as follows; first, as regards the three counties on Delaware. In 1664 the Duke of York had received a royal patent granting him a tract of land extending to "the east side of Delaware Bay." Later in the year when

he had driven the Dutch out of this territory he crossed over and took possession of the three lower counties lying on the *west* of the Bay, although they were included in the grant previously made to Lord Baltimore. He excused himself on the ground that the Dutch had made settlements there prior to the coming of the Maryland colonists. In 1682 William Penn petitioned for and obtained these counties as a gift from the Duke, though the latter's title rested on no patent, but only "on the acquiescence of the King."

Without attempting to go into the complexities of the Boundary dispute, it may be briefly stated that when Penn foresaw the danger of losing his harbor at Philadelphia, he was forced (or so he seems to have reasoned) to resort to some expedient to obtain what he believed was his right. So he hit upon the ingenious idea of insisting that whereas in 1632, when Lord Baltimore received his charter, geographers counted sixty miles to a degree and as it was only in 1672 that Picard had calculated the true measure of a degree to be seventy miles—therefore Penn argued, Lord Baltimore should be satisfied with sixty miles to a degree; completely ignoring the fact of an erroneous calculation! Penn's own words quaintly prove his scheming attitude. "My design," he says, "was that every degree being seventy miles, I should get all that was over sixty—the proportion intended for Lord Baltimore by his patent and the computation then assigned to a degree."

In 1732, fourteen years after his death, the boundary line was drawn just where Penn had wished. This result, whether justified or not, worked for the good of Catholics, in as much as Philadelphia now definitely belonged to a state where freedom of worship was allowed. Since the overthrow of James II, Maryland Catholics had lost every trace of liberty in matters religious. As soon as the boundary line was settled therefore, Rev. Joseph Greaton, S.J., came up to Philadelphia from Bohemia Manor in Maryland and a year later built the first Catholic chapel, now part of the Sacristy of Old St. Joseph's, this city.

Though William Penn certainly did not set out to benefit Catholics in his "Holy Experiment" yet in his province, by virtue of the universal toleration granted to all Christian bodies, Mass could be offered publicly in Pennsylvania—a fact of partic-

ular significance when it is realized that this was the only place, after 1687, when Catholics lost control of Maryland, down to the Revolution, where Mass could be lawfully said in any of the British-American colonies. Whatever, then, may have been Penn's shortcomings, he was a friend to Catholics.

It is indeed surprising, considering all the difficulties of the situation and the fact that Penn only sent a brief four years as resident governor, that Pennsylvania became the flourishing colony it did before the outbreak of the Revolution. Penn's first visit in 1682 lasted only two years and he did not come back until fifteen years later in 1699; in the meantime his first wife had died and he had married as second wife, Hannah Callowhill, by whom he had several children. During his second visit he built Pennsbury Manor and lived there with his family. His time was largely spent in settling disputes in the Assembly, conciliating the inhabitants of the lower counties and endeavoring to restore the laws of 1682 concerning "Liberty of Conscience" and "Attests of certain Officers." When news reached Penn that the religious tests of the Toleration Act were to be enforced in his colony he thought it wise to return to England where he hoped his influence would prevent the catastrophe, but in this he was disappointed. He never returned to Pennsylvania. During the latter part of his life one disaster after another befell him; several of his children caused him grave anxiety, especially his oldest son, William; a trusted friend in America betrayed him and as a consequence he suffered imprisonment for debt; he all but lost his colony thru the mismanagement of his representatives and the procrastinating and stubborn refusal of the Quakers to meet the demands of the Crown. In 1712 he suffered a stroke, and although he lingered on for six long years he had lost the full use of his faculties and in 1718 he died.

In summing up the character and accomplishments of William Penn we can hardly do better than quote one of his Quaker biographers, SAMUEL M. JANNEY, who says: (*Life of William Penn*, p. 551) "With a singular disregard for selfish or personal consideration, he devoted his life to the good of mankind—to plead the cause of suffering humanity—to advocate the doctrine of civil and religious liberty—to found a free colony for all mankind—to establish there the most liberal constitution and laws—

to obtain, by justice and kindness, an unexampled influence over the Indian tribes—to recommend measures for improving the moral and social condition of the African race—to point out the means of avoiding the calamities of war, and to exemplify the benign principles of peace." Though this is a one-sided estimate of William Penn it undoubtedly sounds the dominant note of his character and represents him as he truly desired to be—a friend and benefactor to oppressed humanity, to which we can also subscribe, notwithstanding the fact that in his early writings he singled out "Papists" as special objects of detestation, and certain of their fundamental doctrines as obnoxious. We have already shown that his denunciations had their origin in the peculiar political and religious ferment of the times which clouded the sober judgment of men, so that his writings in this regard, should not be taken too seriously. His doctrinal attacks are less easily excused; it should, however, be remembered that they were in the main directed against the Established Church, and that the chief end of Quakerism in England was securing liberty of conscience for all who suffered under that establishment. In the heat and passion of his Quaker defense, William Penn said many things which his more sober reflection would undoubtedly have disapproved and it would be unfair to judge him by expressions found here and there in those writings—rather, in the last analysis, we must judge him by his acts. There can be no denying the fact that from the beginning of his colonial undertaking William Penn consistantly upheld his principle of universal toleration of all forms of Christian belief, and that in the end, in England he showed himself to be a powerful friend to Catholics and in America granted them full rights of citizenship, including power to hold office as well as free liberty of worship. This in itself justifies our recognition and demands the gratitude of all Catholics.

ST. ALBAN KITE,
Wallingford, Pa.

MISCELLANY

MARY WARD—A PIONEER IN THE RELIGIOUS LIFE

The historic background of this story is found in the cataclysmic conditions that existed in England as a result of the religious upheaval which followed the passing of the Act of Supremacy by an obsequious parliament at the behest of Henry VIII, in 1534. This engendered the bitter hatreds which were characteristic of the England of Elizabeth, whose Statutes of Supremacy and Uniformity made Protestantism the law of the land.

Unrest was rife at the time, not only in Catholic circles, but elsewhere. We find, for example, that the Independents of Scroosby, in Notinghamshire, were obliged to leave England for Holland; and when this was found to be an unsuitable location, they took ship in the *Mayflower* for Cape Cod and later founded the Pilgrim Colony at Plymouth.

The story of the Protestant exiles from England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has been voluminously narrated; but the Catholic diaspora has a very meagre literature. In fact, not till the publication (some twelve years ago) of Dr. Guilday's *English Catholic Refugees on the Continent*, did we have any synthetic account of the Catholic exiles who crossed the Channel.

The early English Catholic refugees to the Continent consisted mainly of fragments of Religious Orders, such as the Carthusians and the Brigittines, students and professors from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and individual priests and laymen.

After 1569, in consequence of what is known as the "Northern Rising," there went many noble men and women, who gathered in Antwerp, Brussels, Bruges, Douay, Louvain, and other towns in the Netherlands.

The background, however, is not composed exclusively of features which might naturally be expected in the days to which our story relates. There are other elements in it, equally as historical: the violent internal discord which prevailed among the English Catholics themselves; the rivalries of men bent on the same errand of the salvation of souls; the jealousies which divided even prisoners for the Faith in the same dungeons; the long list of complaints, memorials, petitions and counter-petitions of every kind, which made the Catholic body the laughing-stock of its enemies and a source of poignant grief to its friends.

It is necessary to know these facts to understand many of the sad episodes in Mary Ward's life.

Mary Ward came from a family in the Northern counties well-known for their unswerving loyalty to the Church during all the persecutions in England, and she was kin to the Gascoignes, the Vavasours, and the Constables—families famous for their strict Catholic principles.

Feeling that she had a call to the religious life, she left England during Whitsuntide of the year 1606 and went to St. Omer, in the Spanish Netherlands, then governed by the Archduke Albert of Austria and his wife, the Infanta Isabella Eugenia (daughter of Philip II). Both of these were, in later years, to be identified with some of the vicissitudes of Mary Ward's conventual life.

Mary had been directed to the College of the English Jesuits and had a letter of introduction to Father Flacke; but, instead, she met (unfortunately as subsequent events prove) Father George Keynes, and placed herself under his direction. He, it seems, had been aware of her coming, and informed her that *she would be admitted as a lay-sister* at the Monastery of Poor Clares, known as Colletines. He felt quite positive that this was Mary Ward's vocation, assuring her at the same time that "the lay-sisters and the Choir Sisters were one and the same Order and equal in merit in the sight of God."

There were two communities of Poor Clares at the time in St. Omer—the Urbanists (called by the townspeople "the Rich Clares") and the Colletines, who lived by alms, having several lay-sisters who followed the Rule of the Third Order of St. Francis, and *went out daily to beg for the community.*

Nothing could be more at variance with Mary Ward's desires, which tended to a life of contemplation and solitude. Yet she did not dare depart from the counsel of Father Keynes, as she regarded it as an expression of the will of God. The arbitrary action of Father Keynes has been censured by one of his brethren—Father Lohner, the author of a *Life of Mary Ward*—who says: "In the direction of this wonderfully obedient soul, the right line, in my opinion, was not taken, since it is contrary to ordinary precept and practice for spiritual fathers, that they should so expressly *constrain* and *almost command* those deliberating upon the choice of a vocation to some particular calling, which once and again happened to Mary."

As a Colletine lay-sister the refined Englishwoman's experiences were most trying, and she suffered disquietudes of a serious nature,—so serious, that Father Keynes, who had previously insisted that Mary Ward become a Poor Clare, had a gnawing of conscience, and told her expressly that she "*must leave the convent.*" This she did after many interior trials and a year of indescribable desolation, sometime in May, or June, 1607.

The idea had come to her that she could perhaps contribute to the revival of the dying embers of Divine love in the souls of her countrywomen by providing larger and more fitting means than those existing at the time on the Continent for attracting them to the religious state. But with regard to herself, *she believed* that God had called her to be a Poor Clare. She sought the advice of the Commissary-General of the Franciscans and others, only to discover that such a project was beset with serious difficulties. But she had set forth on a "venture of Faith," and commending it to God, she adhered unalterably to her design and took the necessary steps to put it into execution.

She secured a house in the village of Ecchelstbeker, near Gravelines; and her next step was to secure the requisite permission of the State authorities—the Archduke Albert and the Infanta Isabella—for the establishment of a community. This was granted conditionally. The Community must be established in some fortified town; they should not be mendicant; they should be subject to the Ordinary of the Diocese. A site was secured at Gravelines; and pending the building of a convent Mary Ward's Community of Poor Clares began conventual life at St. Omer, under the original Rule of the Order—then the severest in the Church.

After some months spent here, Mary Ward was troubled with grave doubts regarding her vocation, for there were indications that God had called her to another state of life "very much to His honor, greatly for His glory and for the good of others, particularly the English people." She confided her doubts to the Superior of the Community and to her confessor. The former counseled the discipline; the latter (a Jesuit) assured her: "You may be saved whether you go, or whether you stay."

Soon it was whispered both within and without the Community that Mary Ward was purposing to leave the convent; and this was the severest part of the ordeal through which she was passing, for it exposed her to universal contempt. She could then say with the Psalmist: "All they who saw me have laughed me to scorn; they have spoken with the lips and wagged the head" (Ps. XXI, 7). But "the foolishness of God is wiser than men; and the weakness of God is stronger than men." (I Cor. I, 25.) The poisoned arrows fell harmless.

She left the convent at St. Omer and returned at England; but ere doing so, she had to drink to the dregs the cup of bitterness. The epithets "runaway nun," "the visionary," "the false prophetess," were freely bestowed upon her whenever she appeared in the streets of St. Omer. She now seemed to realize as never before the necessity of work and prayer in the religious life, if her sacrifice was to have any permanent effect in the desire that burned in every Catholic English heart for the conversion of the homeland. This idea crystallized during the time she spent in lodgings in London.

She possessed the power of attracting others, and the results show how great this must have been and how faithfully she employed it to draw souls to God. She was only twenty-four at the time and was surrounded by friends both of her own age, and younger, from among the principal Catholic families. Her fervor kindled theirs, and several of them determined to labor for souls, under her guidance, on the Continent.

In 1609 we find her with five companions established in the Grosse Rue at St. Omer, where they lived in community and opened a boarding and day-school for rich and poor. This was the first free school for English Catholic girls, governed by women living in community. Mary Ward's idea was, to prepare the pupils for the religious life, or to send them back to England well equipped for the defence of the Faith.

The Institute (as it was called) had no formal Rule up to this time. After various rules had been considered by Mary Ward and her companions, one based upon the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus was adopted. This caused the members of the community to be called "Jesuitesses"—a name that still survives erroneously in many books of reference. The adoption of the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus as the model for the organization caused the whole venture to become at once an object of suspicion and mistrust, and aroused a great deal of hostility on the part of the secular clergy in England and elsewhere. The Institute was regarded as an instrument of the Society of Jesus and an attempt of the Jesuits to widen their influence in the English Church.

In order to have a clear concept of Mary Ward's ideal in the formation of her Institute we must understand the conditions which existed three centuries ago in conventual life on the Continent, when questions of a national character,

customs, language, and aspirations were a disturbing element, and the opportunities of the religious life very circumscribed. The convents existing at the time offered every advantage for *individual perfection*, but there was an element in those religious bodies which did not harmonize with Mary Ward's ideal, the first object of which was the individual perfection of the Sisters and the salvation of souls outside the Cloister.

The Canon Law on the question of enclosure was very strict. Boniface VIII, in the Constitution, *Periculoso*, made enclosure an inviolable rule for religious communities of women; and this Constitution was confirmed by a Decree of the Council of Trent. Hence it became impossible for nuns to undertake works of charity which necessitated non-enclosure; and even the education of young girls (which was permitted) was subject to inconveniences which rendered it impracticable.

The Bull of St. Pius V, *Circa pastoralis* not only re-affirmed these regulations, but insisted on the lay-sisters taking solemn vows, to as to bind them to papal enclosure.

The second object of Mary Ward's ideal,—that of one Religious Superior over all the houses, who would be subject immediately to the Holy See and independent of local authority, naturally met with opposition from the episcopate.

Notwithstanding these difficulties the Institute had made great progress; but hostility towards it increased during the first six years of its existence. Meanwhile Mary Ward had gone to England to establish a community there. Thence she returned to St. Omer in 1615 to prepare for the Holy See a Memorial for its approbation. This was brought to Rome in January, 1616, by Thomas Sackville and presented to Pope Paul V. A reply to the Memorial, bearing the seal of Cardinal Lancellotti (April 10, 1616) was addressed to the Bishop of St. Omer, directing him to give his protection to the English ladies. After the reception of this, the House at St. Omer began to attract novices. Soon other foundations became necessary, and branch schools were opened at Liège, Cologne, and Trier (Trèves). But Mary Ward's perplexities were increasing despite the apparent progress of her establishment, and she decided to go to Rome, and plead, in person, the cause of her Institute. She was graciously received by Gregory XV, but from the day of that visit a clear-sighted observer could have seen that her work was doomed.

English ecclesiastical opposition to it had assumed a formidable aspect, and a vile publication—*Godfather's Information*, sponsored by the head of the seculars—assailed it bitterly. This was widely circulated in England, Flanders, and even in Rome, where Rant, the agent of the English secular clergy, is said to have made himself hoarse with speaking against the English gentlewomen and their Institute. It had one champion, however, Father Burton, who wrote a *Defence of the Institute*, based upon the opinions of two eminent theologians—Suarez and Lessius.

Fearing that her opponents should proceed to stifle the work in Flanders and in England, Mary Ward set out from Rome for England, by way of Munich, in 1626. Here under the auspices of the Elector Maximilian I, she established a community in the *Paradeiser Haus*, which remained in possession of the

Englische Fräulein until the secularization of all the religious houses in Bavaria by the Elector Maximilian Joseph, in 1808.

Between 1627 and 1628 foundations were made at Vienna, Presburg, and Prague. But clouds were lowering on the horizon, and there were portentous signs that evil days were in store for the Institute. Mary Ward hastened to Rome to plead her cause before Urban VIII. Her pleadings were in vain; and the Institute was suppressed by a Bull, dated January 13, 1631. On February 7 Mary Ward was arrested at Munich by order of the Holy Office and imprisoned as a heretic, schismatic, and rebel to Holy Church. Her prison was a gloomy, insanitary cell at the Monastery of the Anger; and here she remained until April of the same year, when she was released by order of the Pope. Her good name was lost; her Houses in Belgium were suppressed; and her Sisters were cast penniless into the streets of Liège; and all this by way of token of the animosity which the English secular clergy had for the Society of Jesus. Diatribes were penned against this noble woman; and encyclopedias have given wide currency to the old fables which condemned her. Even Catholic historians have written erroneous accounts of her brave attempt to solve problems in the manner which Church authorities have since recognized as being in perfect conformity with its doctrines and discipline. The question may be asked: What became of the members of Mary Ward's foundation after the publication of the Bull of Suppression? Many returned to the world; a few entered other religious Orders; the remainder —a mere handful in comparison with the rest—continued faithful to their first dedication.

Nine of the novices were sent to the *Paradeiser Haus* at Munich. This had not been affected by the suppression, as the Elector had obtained special permission of the Holy See for Mary Ward and her companions to continue their work there.

One of the members of the community—Frances Bedingfield—returned to England, where, under the patronage of Catherine of Braganza, consort of Charles II, she established a house,—first in St. Martin's Lane, London, and afterwards at Hammersmith. Thence it moved to Heworth, in Yorkshire, and finally to the site of St. Mary's Convent, Micklegate Bar, which was destined to become one of the foremost Catholic schools for girls, in England.

Undaunted by the severe trials which she and her foundation had endured, Mary Ward went to Rome and was cordially received by Urban VIII. She succeeded not only in satisfying the Pope of the orthodoxy of her work, but in arranging with the Congregation of Religious a *modus vivendi* for the re-organization of her Institute. She established a House in Rome which became (1633) the Mother-House of the new Institute and residence of the Chief Superior until 1703 when transfer was made to Munich.

Mary Ward left Rome, in September, 1637, and after an unsuccessful attempt to re-organize the foundation at Liège, proceeded to England. Here she gathered the members of her Institute around her; and the work of teaching began with renewed vigor in London. Difficulties incident to the Civil War forced her to give up the House in London, and go to her own county—Yorkshire—where a convent was begun at Hatton Rudby. In 1644 the House was removed to Heworth

Hall. Here Mary Ward died, January 30, 1645. She was buried in the Protestant graveyard at Osbaldwick, where her grave may still be seen.

The subsequent career of the Community founded by this "valiant woman," from her death until the early days of the eighteenth century, was filled with incidents of a trying nature. A request was made for its pontifical confirmation by the Right Rev. John Leyburne, Vicar-Apostolic of the London District in 1694, but the request was not acceded to. It was renewed in 1702, and granted by Clement XI, June 13, 1703, and the Institute obtained the privileges of a Congregation in the Church. So satisfied was the Pope with the whole status of the Institute, that he expressed his willingness to give at once the final approbation, if the members would accept enclosure. But, faithful to their original design and the spirit which had been handed down from generation to generation (the value of which they had themselves tested), the members preferred to accept the first Confirmation only and remain un-enclosed, as before, though the non-enclosure was to be exercised under narrower limits, as it exists to-day among them.

Many of the difficulties which came to Mary Ward's Community in the early days of its existence were presumably due to a false interpretation of the Bull, *Quamvis justo* issued by Benedict XIV. The Pope's decision that Mary Ward should not be called Foundress was *not* the settlement of an historical question; but as the Pope then saw it, the *safest way* to settle the dispute; and he acted from motives of *prudence* and *utility* when he declared that the second Institute was not the same as that which had been suppressed by Urban VIII.

As regards Mary Ward herself, there is but one statement in the Bull which can be considered as casting any imputation upon her. This statement refers to certain letters she is said to have written encouraging her subjects to resist the orders given to the Nuncios to dissolve the several Houses *before* the suppression was publicly decreed. There is nothing whatever in the *Quamvis justo* to indicate that she had ever been regarded as a heretic or a schismatic. On the contrary, there is a formal exculpation of the "English Ladies" from such a charge by the Secretary of the Holy Office, who says: "They are not found, *nor ever have been found*, guilty of any failure which regards the Holy and Orthodox Catholic Faith."

The final ratification of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin (its official title) was pronounced by Pope Pius IX, in 1877. The storms and afflictions under which it came into the world had passed; the long night of bare and tacit toleration, the opposition, and, in a certain sense, the disgrace under which it had to force its way had been dispelled; the grain of wheat had sunk into the earth and died before it became capable of bearing fruit.

Time has vindicated Mary Ward from any charge affecting her reputation as a loyal child of the Church and a true and great servant of God. It has reinstated her in that honorable position from which the hostility of the English secular clergy had so long debarred her. Our own day has witnessed this happy consummation, for on April 10, 1909, Pope Pius X, by a special Decree of the Congregation of Religious permitted the members of the Institute to call Mary Ward their only and legitimate Foundress—a privilege denied them since the publication of the Bull of Benedict XIV. May we not again truly say with the

Psalmist? "They that sow in tears shall reap in joy; *going*, they went and *wept*, casting their seeds; but *coming*, they shall come with joyfulness, carrying their sheaves." (Ps. CXXV, 5-7.)

The great work which has sprung from seeds sown by Mary Ward and her little band of heroic women has survived the fiercest storms to which any work can be exposed, and it lives to-day fruitful and prolific to an extent which places it amongst the brightest contemporary glories of the Catholic Church. None now can doubt that what she essayed was in harmony with the truest Catholic spirit.

Her Institute, under several national designations—"Englische Fräulein" in Bavaria and elsewhere on the Continent; "Loretto Nuns," in Australia, Canada, India, Ireland, and the United States; "The Institute of the Blessed Virgin," in England, is rendering inestimable service to God and His Church. It has adapted itself to meet the needs of the respective countries, and its members fit themselves for the acquirement of every branch of knowledge desirable for creditable scholarship. Strict adherence to Mary Ward's ideals has not hindered her successors from adopting a policy which stands for all that is best in the way of spiritual and educational progress.

P. W. BROWNE.

THE NAGASAKI MARTYRS

There has recently come to light a rare pamphlet, printed at Madrid in 1624, by Andres de Parra, entitled "A Short Account of the Great and Rigorous Martyrdom, which last year (1622) was suffered in Japan by One Hundred and Eighteen Martyrs." The material was taken from letters written by Jesuit fathers, and first hand narratives of those who fled in time to safety in Manila. The recital has to do with the effacement of the Catholic faith in Nagasaki under orders of the Shogun, who had taken alarm at certain political manifestations which he and his advisers judged might bring on foreign aggrandizement.

The Christian teachers had been ordered to depart and did so, but Father Pedro de Zuiniga, an Augustinian, and Father Florez, a Dominican, stole back on a ship from Manila, the captain of which was a Japanese Christian, who had been baptized as Joachim. His vessel was held up and plundered by the Dutch, who betrayed the fact that he had brought in the priests. The captain, his officers and crew, all Christians, were lodged together with the priests in prison at Hirato. To their rescue came another Dominican father from Manila, who brought about a jail delivery, which naturally made a great stir. All the prisoners were recaptured. These included many other Christians. The pamphlet proceeds to state:

"On the tyrant Emperor being apprised of this, his wrath was kindled against the Christians for having brought monks to Japan to preach the faith and for the breaking of the prisons, and he immediately ordered the Governor of Nangasaki (Nagasaki) to go thither and burn alive the Captain Joachim and the two friars who came on board his ship and who were in the same prison, besides all the Christian officers and seamen of the ship, together with all the monks who were imprisoned in several other prisons, both Europeans and Japanese, and even the

wives and children of those who in past years had been martyred—in short, every one who in any way was connected with the Christian faith.

"The Governor proceeded to Hirato and examined the prisoners, asking them whether they were Christians, where they were born, and when they had been baptised. He urged them to deny their faith, and having been commissioned and authorised to do so, he promised in the name of his Highness that he would grant them the grace of life if only they abandoned the Christian faith. But they answered him constantly that they would not for anything deny the faith of Christ Jesus. So, seeing their firmness, he passed judgment against the Captain Joachim and against Father Fray Pedro de Zuniga, the Augustinian and Father Fray Luis Florez, the Dominican, together with the sailors: that the captain and the fathers be burned alive and that the sailors, who numbered ten, be beheaded.

"The holy confessors of Christ, on finding themselves thus sentenced, asked the President (for their better relief and assurance of their death being for the sake of Christ), for what reason he had ordered their lives to be taken. To this answer was given that it was because they had come to Japan to preach the Christian law against the laws of the Emperor; and, as regards the others, because they had brought such people in despite of the same laws and edicts. Hearing this they all rejoiced, in that they were to suffer death for the sake of Christ.

"When they were brought out to the place assigned for their martyrdom, which was outside the city of Nangasaki, many people followed them. After the three confessors of Christ had been placed against the posts at which they were to be burned, and before the wood with which they were surrounded was kindled, the heads of the twelve officers of the ship were cut off, within the wall of the place of execution. Thus was their blood shed.

"By direction of the Fathers, who were not yet skilled in the language, since it was not long that they had been in Japan, the brave Captain Joachim began to preach. Witnesses say that he preached like an apostle, boldly and fervently. The heathen tried to stop him, ordering him to be silent; but he answered that he owed duty to God rather than to man, and asked what greater pain they could inflict on him than that of burning him alive. Thereupon they put fire to the wood with which they were surrounded but the captain continued his preaching until he died, meeting his death firmly and almost without moving. All this was upon the 19th of August, there being present numberless Christians, who hailed the holy martyrs and prayed to encourage them.

"Seeing that the martyrs had breathed their last, the minions of justice placed the heads of the decapitated upon a board as a public warning, and the bodies, together with those of the three who were burned, they left inside the execution wall for a few days. Crowds of Christians resorted thither by day and night, worshipping with great veneration, but the guards treated them ill, beating and wounding them, for they had orders that they should allow nobody to come near the bodies to take relics from them. But some persons of distinction, who had influence with the officers of justice, succeeded in obtaining some (relics) of the holy bodies. And particularly they obtained all that remained of the holy martyr Fray Pedro de Zuniga, intending to bring it to this city of Manila and so to Spain, he being the son of the Marquis of Villamanrique, sometime Viceroy of

New Spain. It was expected that as he had such illustrious relatives his body would receive great honour.

"This martyrdom finished, the Governor of Nagasaki sent for the prisoners, who, incarcerated at Omura, were awaiting their happy moment. This was one of the most illustrious martyrdoms that the country has ever witnessed. There were fifty-two who suffered, all on the same day. The happy servants of God started from the prison where they had been imprisoned for many years—some longer than others, but all in such distress that in a downstairs room of only twelve mats there were, by day and night, thirty or more persons, three sharing the same mat of eight palms (84 inches) length and three palms (32 inches) width. They could not walk a single step and they had the privy inside the room; this would have been enough to finish them before long. Their food consisted of a bowl of black rice and a roasted sardine, and sometimes a broth made of radish leaves.

"While these holy prisoners came from Omura, the President summoned before him also thirty men and women who were in the prison at Nagasaki to be martyred along with them, and he passed sentence of death against them that they be beheaded next day, and in the meanwhile taken back to prison. They came out of the Court rejoicing, bound hand to hand in pairs like criminals. Such as could brought crosses in their hands. One brave woman went ahead as captain, with banner and cross, and all the women followed her in the procession, singing praises to God and contemning false gods. Some carried their children in their arms, who were to be martyred with them. The men followed, the company forming a procession beautiful in the eyes of God and of the other Christians who were looking with envy and accompanying them in great number.

"The prisoners of Omura coming to the place of martyrdom numbered among them twenty-one monks. A numberless multitude congregated to receive them, and the people named and pointed out to one another the fathers who had made them Christians, crying and wailing because their spiritual fathers and teachers were being taken away from them. The fathers comforted them with the assurance that God would send them other teachers to help them maintain their resolution, and exhorted them to keep their faith till death.

"The minions of justice assigned to each one the stake where he was to be burnt, and each of the holy priests, before he was made fast to it, kneeled and embraced his stake and kissed it a thousand times, the Japanese brothers following their example, which increased the devotion of the bystanders and moved them to tears.

"Before the thirty who were to be beheaded came out from Nagasaki, the twenty-five who were to be burned alive were placed at their stakes and bound but loosely, in the following order: first, four who had entertained priests in their houses, then twenty-five priests, European and Japanese. The first priest was F. Carlos Espinola, Italian, of the Society of Jesus, born in Genoa, of the illustrious house of Espinola, very well known and esteemed by all for his nobility, virtue, and other qualities, and long a worker in this Christian flock. Second was F. fray Angel Ferrer of the order of St. Dominick; third F. fray Joseph de S. Jacinto of the same order; fourth F. F. Jacinto of the same order; fifth, F. Sebastian Ouimura, of the Society, born in Japan, in the city of Hirado, old in

the religion for more than thirty years, and the first Japanese ordained priest—twenty years before—a notable worker, of uncommon virtue, and a very good preacher in his language; sixth was F. fray Pedro de Avila, Franciscan; seventh, F. F. Ricardo de S. Ana, Franciscan; eighth, F. Fray Alonso de Mena, Dominican; ninth, F. fray Francisco de Morales, Dominican; tenth, the brother Fray Vicente, Franciscan (European); eleventh, the brother fray Leon, Japanese; twelfth, the brother Antonio Fugia of the Society; thirteenth, the brother Gonzalo Fusay, of the Society; thirteenth (*sic*) the brother Pedro Zampo, of the Society; fourteenth, the brother Miguel, Japanese, of the Society of Jesus. All of the latter were Japanese. After these were four of the name and profession of St. Dominick. The last two were of this company, brother Tome Agascin and brother Luis cavarato, Japanese. Another brother of the Society was beheaded in the same martyrdom, because there was not a stake for him, his name being Iuan Chacoco, a Japanese. Thus in this martyrdom were nine martyrs of the order of St. Dominick, five of St. Francis, and nine of the Society of Jesus.

"As soon as the preparations were completed for the burning of the twenty-five, the company of those who were to be beheaded made its appearance, and as they came in sight of the holy priests, both parties began to shout and cry, giving each other their last farewell.

"And as they came near the stakes, the F. Carlos Espinola addressed a holy matron among the newcomers, whose husband had been martyred on a charge of giving harbour to the Father, who asked: 'Isabel Fernandez, where is Ignacio your son?' And she, taking the child in her arms and lifting him up, answered, 'Father, here is my son. I will offer him to God; he will become a martyr with me.' The child was five years old; and hearing this the Father was greatly comforted.

"Before they lighted the wood, they, with unmerciful ferocity, cut off the heads of the thirty men and women, together with those of twelve children, the eldest of them not yet ten years old. And as the executioners were asked the reason why they beheaded these before burning the holy ministers of the Gospel, and why they set the freshly severed and still bleeding heads before them, they answered that it was for the purpose of frightening the confessors of Christ, and thus disheartening them for the torture of burning.

"Then they put fire to the wood that surrounded the saints, but they did it from so far that some who noticed it and measured the distance found in some cases a space of 18 feet between the fire and the holy martyrs—this in order to make the burning slower, and with the same intent, when the fire waxed high, they deliberately subdued it. All this was done with the intention that those who wished might escape, to which end they tied the hands to the posts loosely, with a bow at the top, in such manner that, on feeling the fire, they could get loose and escape beyond the execution wall. With the same purpose they left a gate open by which they could run away from the fire, thus failing to obtain the crown of martyrdom.

"But when the faggots took fire the martyrs rejoiced, and, lifting their eyes to heaven, they suffered the burning as though they had been of marble, so calm and motionless they stood. For long and with wonderful patience they endured this torture; and witnesses who had with them hourglasses, noted that the holy

priests roasted from an hour and a half to two hours. Such witnesses who were about the holy martyr Sebastian Quimura, of the Company of Jesus, assert that he lasted three hours alive. The heathen were astonished and for many days talked of it with awe.

"The martyrs were much encouraged in their firmness and perseverance by the extraordinary congregation of Christians who were present, the cause of this being that the place, date, and hour of the martyrdom were announced many days before. Among the crowd were many missionary monks, European and Japanese, and many a venerable priest, long-time workers among the Christian congregation, who had worked for twenty, twenty-five, and thirty years, and even longer to compass the conversion of Japan. To give an idea of the multitude, we quote from F. Juan Bautista da Baeza, of the Society of Jesus, Rector of Nagasaki, who has been in Japan since the year 1590. He says that there must be in the city and vicinity about 50,000 Christians, notwithstanding that the city is now not so firm as it used to be.

"The Saints were passing away. Many of them, kneeling down, embracing their stakes, were dying.

"The burning ended there was a rush of Christians who intended to gather up and worship the relics, but the guards did not allow it, beating them off with cudgels; but considering this not enough, they sought how to destroy the holy bodies so that no trace or memory should remain for the faithful to worship. The President therefore ordered a large pit to be dug, and the remains of both bodies and stakes were thrown therein and burnt to ashes, which, being put into bags and taken out to sea in boats, were scattered far and wide in the water.

"This famous martyrdom finished, the next day (September 11th) was beheaded the Sacristan Gaspar Cotengan Doxico, companion of the F. Camillo Constancio, of the Society of Jesus, whom he had helped in the conversion of the heathen. With him they beheaded two children, one seven and the other ten years old, sons of other martyrs. They martyred also another Christian with all his family, because, on a night when the holy corpses were still on the execution wall, they found him gathering and worshipping relics, and denounced him to the President, who, finding the Christian was from Omura, sent him to the Governor of that province, where, as soon as he arrived, he was martyred with his whole family.

"On the 12th of September there was another illustrious martyrdom in Omura, at which were burnt alive F. fray Tomas de Sumarrega or del Espiritu Santo, Friar of St. Dominick, for long a worker among that Christian flock, and F. fray Apolinar Franco, of the order of St. Francis, a very ancient worker; and with them many Japanese, among them a pious woman who was found beside the holy bodies, praying and committing herself to the saints. Asked by the guards what she was doing, and if she were a Christian, she answered that they could clearly see, by what she was doing, that she was a Christian. Her head was cut off and her body thrown among the other martyrs, who were fifteen in all.

"Other ten were martyred at Iquinotima, together with the brother Agustin Onda, of the Society of Jesus, all of them companions of F. Camilo Constancio, of the same Society. He was burnt too at Firando on the 15th of September. His martyrdom was very solemn, on account of there being at the city thirteen ships,

Dutch and English, with great traffic of goods and people without number. This Father was an Italian, from the province of Rome, and he knew Dutch. Thus he preached in several languages with great eloquence and ardour. And as he was much advanced in Japanese learning, he summed up the religions, drawing the conclusion that faith in Christ is the only certain and true religion. So much his discourse appealed to the Japanese that they did not for some time put fire to the faggots; and he ceased not his preaching until he rendered his soul to God.

"On the 2nd of October there were at Nagasaki nine more martyrs, among them three children. One of these Christians was tortured for seven days to oblige him to denounce the priests; but they could extract nothing from him but 'Jesus! Mary! Receive me, Heaven!' and so forth. His tormentors at last slit his back and poured molten lead into the wound. But finding him steadfast, they burned him alive with all his family and scattered the ashes over the sea.

"At Nagasaki there was a martyrdom of five farmers, on September 23rd, because at the house of one of them was discovered, the holy martyr Iacinto Dominico. Three were burnt alive—husband, wife, and son, owners of the house; the three others were beheaded.

"Four leagues away from Hirato on the 27th of May were martyred two Christians: one the host of F. Camilo and the other a man who carried him in his boat to several places for the service of the faith. An old man of 85 was thrown into the sea with two big stones tied to his feet, each of a greater weight than four men could carry. After he had been thrown into the sea and sunk, the holy man emerged again and said thrice, 'Jesus! Mary!' and then disappeared and was no more seen. This was witnessed by many Christians and happened on the 2nd of June.

"On the 3rd of June was martyred another companion in his pilgrimages of F. Camilo Constancio, of the Society of Jesus, on a charge of helping him in his ministry. Another they martyred on the 8th of June on the same charge. On the 26th of July were martyred two more because they were not willing to lend their horses for transporting the holy martyrs, the Christians there thinking it a sin to lend horses for such an injustice. These were three, and together with them two more, on a charge of assisting some of the martyrs in their martyrdom. Another was martyred because, like those already mentioned he would not lend his horse for the martyrs, and there was another martyr in a small farmers' village.

"The glorious end of all these martyrdoms was the last, suffered by F. Pedro Paulo Navarro, of the Society of Jesus, on the 1st of November, All Saints' Day. He had been in Japan preaching the faith for thirty-six years, and was burnt alive like the others, on account of having come to Japan to preach, and doing so for long against the imperial laws. Tied to the stake, he preached like an apostle. Thus he died in the company of two brothers of the Society of Jesus, Brother Dionysio and Brother Pedro Sandayo, and also the guide who accompanied the father.

"Of all this company of 118, forty-six were burned alive and the rest beheaded."

In this fashion the persecution was continued, until in all it is estimated that 75,000 persons perished. The Christian Catholic religion was believed to be

entirely stamped out. Then, to make sure, Japan closed her ports, save for one small trading station on a little island in Nagasaki harbor, where the Dutch, in semi-degradation and secure seclusion, were permitted to carry on a limited trade, that lasted until Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry opened the doors in 1852-54.

DON C. SEITZ.

CHRONICLE

A graceful and richly deserved tribute came to the Right Rev. Rector of the Catholic University of America at the annual meeting of the Hierarchy of the United States at the University. The editor of *Baltimore Catholic Review* (September 17), noting the event says:

In the presence of two American Cardinals, many Archbishops and two score and more of Bishops, members of the Hierarchy of the United States, Archbishop Austin Dowling of St. Paul, paid an eloquent tribute yesterday morning to the Right Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, Rector of the Catholic University of America.

The tribute came at the annual meeting of the Hierarchy of the United States at the Catholic University. His Eminence, Cardinal Mundelein of Chicago, and His Eminence, Cardinal Hayes of New York, were present at the meeting.

Archbishop Dowling spoke of the magnificent work Bishop Shahan has done for Catholic education in general in this country and other countries, and in particular of the work accomplished by him as Rector and professor at the University. Bishop Shahan has been Rector of the University for nearly eighteen years. He became associated with it as a professor when the University started. His present term as Rector expires next April.

Last Sunday marked the seventieth birthday of Bishop Shahan. Resolutions adopted yesterday by the Hierarchy, following Archbishop Dowling's speech, congratulated the bishop on his birthday and on his accomplishments as a priest and educator.

There is no more beloved prelate in the United States than Bishop Shahan. A scholar, he is never the pedant; a man of superb intellectuality, he is ever the soul of humility, ever the kindest and most considerate of men.

On July 15, the Very Rev. Patrick J. McCormick, Ph.D., Dean of Sisters College, Catholic University, was received in audience by the Holy Father. The Pope showed great interest in the University in general, but was particularly eager to hear of Sisters College. He recalled that a similar institution has been created at the Catholic University of Milan and is giving excellent results.

His Holiness blessed the work and all who are associated with it. He expressed the wish that it may be better and more widely understood and appreciated that it is absolutely necessary to care for the technical and scientific training of Sisters devoted to the education of Catholic youth.

Rev. Dr. John M. Cooper, Associate Professor of Sociology at the Catholic University of America, recently returned from a three-month tour of study in the "bush country" of Ontario and Quebec. Dr. Cooper went into the northland in the interests of the Catholic Anthropological Conference and to collect data for his classwork at the University.

Two definite purposes of Dr. Cooper's undertaking were to find out how far into Ontario a large group of customs extended westward from Quebec Province, and, to determine the linguistic relation among different Indians in that area.

The area he covered included the watershed of the Albany River, from its source about 500 miles to the southern extension of Hudson Bay, which is called James Bay; the further area from Fort Albany to Moose Factory and Rupert House on the bay, down to the Abitibi Lake region, and the height of land between the bay and the St. Lawrence River to Lake St. John. Roughly this is a belt of land 1,000 miles long and between 100 and 200 miles wide. The trip required three months and necessitated some 1,000 miles of travel in a canoe.

Dr. Cooper was able to trace most of the customs from Quebec to Lake St. Joseph and found most of them identical with the data had from early Jesuit relations regarding the Indians of the lower St. Lawrence. These customs included the practise (when hunting is bad) of gazing into a bowl of water at night with the head covered, to see where the game may be located; the defining of hunting grounds for each family, and a type of conjuring.

Dr. Cooper was also able to establish the territorial distribution of dialects, one of which, the Kesagami Lake dialect which is similar to the Cree of Moose Factory, was heretofore unknown. The language of the Tête de Boule is definitely Cree, Dr. Cooper also found. There has been considerable discussion as to this latter point.

The first part of the trip, from the source of the Albany River to James Bay to the Moose area, which required two months, Dr. Cooper made in the company of Father Joseph Couture, S.J., who conducts a parish extending about 500 miles from Lake Nipigon, and Father T. Desautels, S.J., one of the pioneer missionaries of the Lake St. Joseph region. The latter part of the journey Dr. Cooper made alone, tracing clues to Abitibi, thence to the headwaters of the St. Maurice River to the Tête de Boule Indians, whom Dr. Cooper has visited for a number of summers past.

At Fort Hope, Dr. Cooper says, he found a quite flourishing Catholic community of some 160 Indians. These are outnumbered by the Protestants and pagans, but the outlook is very encouraging, he says. The Catholics were greatly outnumbered at Lake St. Joseph, but at Fort Albany they were about as strong numerically as the non-Catholics. Catholic missionaries have been laboring in the Lake St. Joseph region for about eight years, but have been in the Fort Hope area since before 1900, he says.

At Fort Albany, Dr. Cooper says, the Oblates maintain a school, a hospital and two resident missionaries. It is remarkable, too, he says, that there are six Grey nuns serving there, despite that the station is 300 miles, or ten days' travel under the best circumstances, from the nearest railroad.

As the immediate result of Monsignor Eugene Tisserant's visit to the United States the Carnegie Foundation for Peace has contributed an ample sum for the cataloguing and reorganization of the Vatican Library. The

foundation regards the task as benefiting the whole world and its gift is hailed everywhere with delight by the academic world and by students generally.

"Not Rome or Italy alone, but the world, will benefit from this gift," said the *London Daily Telegraph* in a leading article: "A library not fully catalogued loses a very large part of its potential value. Since Nicholas V. founded the great library, about the year 1450, its rich nucleus consisting of priceless manuscripts of much earlier date that had been stored in the Lateran, at Avignon and in Rome, the Vatican has issued many lists of its possessions, and has sought to bring them up to date.

"A library that once has fallen behind with its cataloguing faces the future with despair. The Carnegie benefaction is to be used in the preparation of a catalogue of all books and manuscripts, classified both under the names of authors and under subjects.

"This library, which in its roots is the most ancient in the world, is thus to be equipped with modern methods ensuring easy consultation. There are some 40,000 manuscripts in the Latin, Greek, and Oriental languages, among them some of the most valuable in the world, alike for antiquity and intrinsic importance. Printed books must number close upon half a million.

"Scholars at the Vatican have been much disheartened by the difficulties they have experienced in research amongst this enormous mass. The present Pope, when Mgr. Ratti, was Prefect of the Library, and thus fully able to appreciate these difficulties, which his benevolent interest and the help of the Carnegie Foundation now give promise that it shall be removed."

Monsignor Tisserant was called to the colors by France at the outbreak of the World War. He returned to the Vatican after the war. Some months ago the Holy Father sent Monsignor Tisserant to the United States to study the principal public and private libraries here with the object of introducing into the Vatican Library the methods and equipment found here. The immediate outcome of his visit was the generous offer of the Carnegie Foundation.

It is believed that the compilation of the new catalogue will require perhaps ten years' time.

In preparation for the work Monsignor Enrico Benedetti and Mgr. Carmelo Scalia, with professors Bruni and Ignio, members of the Vatican Library staff, have come to this country to study the organization and administration of American libraries. The librarians arrived in the Capital a few days ago and already have inspected the Congressional Library, which they proclaim to be magnificent.

During their stay in Washington the Monsignori were the guests of the Catholic University of America.

Referring to the great library which is to be catalogued and indexed by the Carnegie Foundation for International Peace, Mgr. Scalia said:

"We receive books from all over the world and file them irrespective of their nature, letting time itself decide their value to the world."

Elsewhere we print an illuminating story of the Vatican Library, written for the N. C. W. C. *News Bulletin*, by Mgr. Tisserant who has been connected with

the Library since 1908 and was for a period associated there with the present Holy Father.

Catholics form the largest single religious body in the world, Christian or non-Christian, according to figures just published by Dom Maternus Spitz, O.S.B., who makes a special study of religious statistics throughout the world.

Dom Maternus states that Catholics number 330 millions. The next most numerous group are the Confucianists and Toaists (non-Christians), who number 300 millions.

One surprising revelation is that the world population of the Jews is only 15,000,000, the smallest religious group.

Dom Maternus quotes figures which show that the total populations of the world is 1,819 millions. Twenty-five years ago it was estimated at 230 millions less. With the addition of the Catholic figures of 210 million Protestants and 144 million Orthodox, the Christian population is 37.6 per cent of the world's total, so that pagans form rather less than two-thirds of the total.

Writing in a recent number of the *Commonweal*, a correspondent relates an act of distinguished munificence on the part of Princeton University, which, he justly contends, should be better known and appreciated by Catholics. More than ten years ago, he writes, in fact during the war, from 1914 on, and for some years after the war, the entire support of the Bollandists was undertaken by Princeton. Asked what had induced that university to assume this care, the professor of history answered that as the Bollandists are the greatest historians of the Middle Ages, and their work of such immense value from the historian's point of view, it would have been a calamity intellectually to have discontinued the support. The *Commonweal* writer's desire that this fine act of charity should be more widely known is gladly acceded to so far as THE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW can be a means to that end.

The Most Rev. Monsignor Francis Marchetti-Selvaggiani, D.D., titular Archbishop of Seleucia, secretary of the Congregation of the Propaganda and president of the International Supreme Council of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, arrived in New York September 10 on the steamship *Berlin* to attend the general conference of the eighty-one diocesan directors of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in Chicago, October 11, 12 and 13.

Monsignor Marchetti-Selvaggiani was accompanied by the Rev. John J. Considine, S.T.L., a missionary priest from Maryknoll, Ossining, N. Y., his secretary. Fr. Considine is an alumnus of the Catholic University of America.

New York and America were familiar to him, His Grace said, as the *Berlin* steamed up the river to its Hoboken pier, because he formerly was attached to the Apostolic Delegation at Washington.

"I am not here with an official purpose in view," the Archbishop declared in an interview with a N. C. W. C. representative. "I came following the invitation to be present at the general conference of the diocesan directors of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in the United States who now number

eighty-one. As president of the International Supreme Council of the Propagation of the Faith my interest in the American branch of the society is ever keen."

"I may say merely that American Catholics are most generous and loyal benefactors of the missions through the society," His Grace continued. "As last year the most important event for the Catholic missions was the consecration of six native Chinese Bishops, so this year a great event will be the consecration of the first native Japanese Bishop. The ceremony will take place in St. Peter's on October 31. The Holy Father himself will be the consecrator."

When asked about the progress of mission work throughout the world he said:

"Progress is being recorded in our mission work everywhere. In Africa, India, China, numerous Catholic bodies exist and greater progress is hoped for through loyal work of our missionaries by means of our schools and by the numerous seminaries for the formation of native clergy."

Concerning the recently established "Fides Service," Archbishop Marchetti-Selvaggiani said:

"As to the Fides Service about which you ask, I may say that this enterprise was considered at the last general meeting of the international Supreme Council of the Propagation of the Faith. It will aim to provide news of Catholic missions. The dissemination of the material will take place from Rome, and there are hopes that the service will be put into operation in the early part of 1928."

The writer returning from Europe last week was fortunate in having being seated at a same table in the dining saloon of the steamer with a very capable and courteous Presbyterian divine who had participated in the Lausanne "World Conference on Faith and Order." He discussed the conference at several sittings. In reply to the question: "What had the Conference actually done?" He stated quite frankly that little of a constructive nature had been accomplished. This frank admission summarizes what the *Universe* (London) says editorially:

The Lausanne "World Conference on Faith and Order," ended up with a definite break-away on the part of the Orthodox members, and so revealed the affair for what it really is, an attempt to secure pan-protestant union. The orthodox Archbishop Germanos, with his fellow-delegates, broke away on the Report of the Committee upon the Sacraments, and on that upon the nature of the Church.

There could be no real re-union, they said, on a basis of vague and ambiguous phrases, or by means of a compromise between contradictory opinions. The utmost they could do would be to enter into co-operation in promoting Christian principles in the social and moral spheres. So they felt obliged to abstain from taking any part in the voting, whereby the conclusions of the Conference were to be reached.

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The Anglicans, on the other hand, have preferred to pursue to the end the policy customary with them. Quite comfortably did their representatives expound at the Conference incompatible doctrines, so one presumes that there will

be no difficulty about their accepting a meaningless amalgam as the result. The Bishop of Bombay ("a somewhat unusual figure," says the *Church Times*, "in a kind of white cassock closely resembling a large bath-towel tied with a black girdle") said that the Church is not a democracy, but is ruled by bishops. The Bishop of Gloucester thought the Salvation Army, which does not believe in bishops, might be attached to the Church of England like the Church Army, and go its own way when outside the church doors. And so forth, *ad infinitum*.

There is nothing unusual or unexpected about the Anglican attitude at Lausanne. But it is necessary to direct attention to it yet again, especially in view of the break-away of the Orthodox. It is being widely claimed that Anglo-Orthodox union is well on the way towards accomplishment. The Orthodox have now shaken the dust off their feet and dissociated themselves from Lausanne—and therefore from Anglicanism as there represented, just as much as from the hundred other kinds of Protestantism in evidence.

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In another respect the action of the Orthodox is particularly significant and useful. The President of the Conference Archbishop Söderblöm, of Upsala, is also its inspiring force, and is more largely responsible than anyone else for its very existence. Despite his title, by the way, the body to which he belongs, the Swedish Establishment, is definitely Lutheran, and his orders are not recognized by any Anglicans save those who themselves hold views about the apostolic succession and its consequences that are fundamentally defective.

According to our contemporary *Les Nouvelles Réligieuses*, Dr. Söderblöm, who is a man of the highest abilities, has the large ambition of constructing, over against the Catholic Church, an equally world-wide pan-protestant Church or Federation of Churches. He is, it is said, "a brilliant politician, seductive and dangerous, a kind of Photius of our day," whose activities, "especially in the East, need to be carefully watched." His religious platform is a combination of modernism and ritualism, and theologically he reposes upon Schleiermacher and Kant, with Luther as the ultimate basis.

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"The East," of course, is a wide term, and embraces many diversities. The sort of Easterns most ready to accept strange alliances are not the sort who would bring most strength to any religious cause. But there are also Easterns, respectable and respected, who know what the Orthodox East stands for in theology, and have no intention of compromising about it.

Fortunately the representatives of the East at Lausanne were of the latter sort. In their name, before the proceedings even began, the Metropolitan Stephan of Sofia issued a lengthy document, explaining that they only attended because they felt they could not decline, when invited, to bear their testimony and "point out the road of salvation." A plain and definite summary of Orthodox teaching as to theology, the authority of the Church, and the Sacraments followed, and in conclusion it was reiterated that the only co-operation the Orthodox could

offer was to help forward all efforts "to prevent the dechristianisation of European Society."

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These strong and unambiguous reservations, with which alone the Easterns consented ever to go to Lausanne at all, are of a piece with the action of Archbishop Germanos and his colleagues when they got there and found out what it was like. Perhaps ocular and aural experience at first hand of Protestant religious theory, and Anglican mentality in its regard, was useful to them, and may be fruitful; otherwise one would condole with them for the waste of time.

But at least it is satisfactory that "la politique Söderblömienne" has received a check in one of the principal spheres of its activity. Also that Orthodox and Anglicans know a bit more about one another—the Orthodox what sort of thing a representative man like the Bishop of Gloucester stands for, the Anglicans that all Orthodox are not like Damianos of Jerusalem or the amazing Meletios Metaxakis. The tragi-comedy of Lausanne will not have been in vain if only these little bits of knowledge fructify.

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We have been impressed by an appendage to the excellent reports of the Conference sent home by the *Church Times* representative. It is a pathetic little document. It seems that some of the Anglicans present got badly "fed up"—if one may use a boy's expression—with the dismal Lutheran services in the beautiful old Cathedral, stolen from the Church, the vagaries of the different Protestant ministers of all sorts, and the blatant heresies propounded by their own representatives. So they took a day off, and this is how the *Church Times* begins its description of the trip: "The Conference has been perplexing. Speaker after speaker has uttered platitude after platitude in the German tongue, and has talked vaguely about an *Evangelium*. The Anglican delegates have asked for a more precise definition. A journey to the little village in the Canton of Solothurn supplied it."

Now the Canton of Solothurn is a Catholic Canton, and the little village, Selzach, is a Catholic village. The attraction that drew the visitors was the very beautiful Passion Play periodically presented by the Catholic villagers, a Play as beautiful and as deeply devotional as that of Oberammergau, though on a smaller scale. Why should the simple, unlettered villagers of Salzach "supply" the "more precise definition" of the Faith which our Anglican friends failed to find in the Niagara of learned verbiage which was poured out before them at Lausanne? We invite them to think it over.

The N. C. W. C. *News Bulletin* of date September 16, says:

Students preparing for the Catholic priesthood in seminaries throughout the United States increased by 1,852 in the last two years, it is shown in a survey of the seminaries of the country just completed by the Education Bureau of the N. C. W. C., the results of which were made public this week.

There were 15,836 students in the seminaries in 1926, as against 13,984 in 1924, when the last survey was made. At the same time, the number of faculty members of the seminaries increased by 62, giving a total of 1828.

It is noteworthy that while these increases were being registered, the number of seminaries decreased from 170 to 162. This is largely accounted for officials of the Bureau explained, by an inclination on the part of the religious Orders to drop some of their smaller preparatory seminaries and enlarge and strengthen their larger institutions. This policy is reflected in the fact, shown by the survey, that the preparatory seminaries decreased by 13 in the two years, while the major seminaries increased by 5.

Another noteworthy thing shown by the survey is that the number of members of religious Orders, both in the faculties and student bodies decreased, while increases in both groups were registered by the secular priests. In 1924 there were 1,271 religious engaged as teachers, and in 1926, 1,191, a drop of 80. The secular teachers in 1924 numbered 415, and in 1926 rose to 531, an increase of 116. Religious Order students in 1924 were 6,178, and in 1926 they were 5,916, a drop of 262. In the same period secular students rose from 7,806 to 9,920, an increase of 2,114.

It also is interesting to note that the number of lay teachers in the seminaries rose from 80 in 1924 to 106 in 1926, the increase being 26.

With the decrease of 13 in the number of preparatory seminaries in the two years, the total number of faculty members also dropped, though only slightly. The decrease was 18, the number for 1926 being 1,019. The student bodies in these institutions, however, increased by 935, and totaled 9,824 in 1926.

In the case of the major seminaries both faculties and student bodies increased. There were 80 more teachers in these institutions in 1926 than in 1924, the total reaching 809. The student bodies rose to a total of 6,012, an increase of 917.

The Baltimore Archdiocese, with the Catholic University of America and the numerous houses of study grouped about it, had the largest number of seminaries, with a total of 14. New York was a close second, with 12. In the number of faculty members Baltimore also led, with 162. New York had 137 and Chicago 115. In the matter of student bodies in the seminaries, Chicago led, with 1,493, Baltimore coming second, with 1,440, and New York third, with 1,367. St. Louis had 1,081.

The first national convention of the Catholic Central Verein of America held in Philadelphia since the Centennial Celebration in 1876 gathered there during the last week of August. It was largely attended. Mr. Frederick Kenkel presided and made an eloquent plea for "Christian Solidarism."

"Both socialism and capitalism have been found wanting and only Christian solidarism, that is, society based upon unselfishness as taught by the Christian Church, will save civilization," declared F. P. Kenkel, director of the Central Bureau of the Verein, who made the plea.

"In advocating this system the bureau realizes that religion is the sustaining force of society," he said, "and that the ultimate success of any system depends upon it. There are but few, if any, problems that are divorced from God and religion, and hence by the practice of Christian principles it should be possible to alleviate the lot of the working and agricultural classes and re-establish society upon recognized Christian principles."

To further aid in breadcasting the ideas of the bureau, Mr. Kenkel advised the organization of study classes and the establishment of traveling libraries "thus assisting those living in small communities to become conversant with social and economic conditions and learn of the Christian social reform and solidarism."

The problems confronting the Catholic women to-day were discussed by the Rev. P. Ferdinand Gruen, O.F.M., president of the Quincy, Ill., Franciscan College and Seminary, at the same session.

The use of the local meetings of the Verein for the exchange of ideas on pertinent questions of every description was strongly urged at the afternoon session by Joseph Matt, of St. Paul, Minn. "These local societies should do more than pray and pay, and then pray again," he recommended and recited numerous examples where forum discussions had proved of great value.

Commendation of the work; of fraternal organizations "of different forms of religion," was made by two speakers at the same session.

The Rev. Charles O'Gallagher, auxiliary chaplain at Fort Houston, Texas, made an appeal for a new army chapel.

The Right Rev. Monsignor Anthony Kaul of Lancaster, Pa., urged the Verein to consider an institution for the sheltering of aged and infirm priests. "The various orders, as well as all Protestant fraternal organizations have made every possible provision for their aged, while the regular parish priest is left without any," said Monsignor Kaul, who is eighty-one years old, and has been ordained fifty-eight years.

At the opening session of the convention yesterday, the Right Rev. Joseph Schrembs, of Cleveland, cited the "Immodesty of Feminine Attire," the increase in degrading amusement and the flagrant abuse of moral and civil law as evidence of a need for a return to the precepts of the faith.

Bishop Schrembs asked that women of all ages heed the advice of the Catholic Church in the matter of dress. He declared that women who affect the abbreviated modern costume are in danger of losing the respect of men.

Director Grakelow welcomed the delegates.

Convening concurrently with the national Verein is the Catholic Central Verein, Pennsylvania branch, and the National Catholic Women's Union.

At a combined session yesterday afternoon in the Metropolitan Opera House, the Rev. Aloysius J. Muench, D. Sc., professor of dogmatic theology and social science at St. Francis Seminary, Milwaukee, and Judge Philip H. Donnelly, of Rochester, N. Y., spoke.

In his address on "Religious Liberty Under the Constitution," Judge Donnelly said:

"We do not let our fellow citizens know the important part we have played in the preservation of this country since its birth. Ignorance of Catholic teaching and Catholic practice are the only causes for persecution.

"Catholics never favored union of State and Church, and Catholic people demand that their men in public life shall be honest and have the public weal at heart. While they are in public life we demand that they be good American citizens and a credit to their nation and faith."

The annual convention of the Ancient Order of Hibernians and its Ladies' Auxiliary was held in Buffalo, July 22-25. Noted for its many benefactions to religious and educational projects, the order adds another munificent gift. The retiring president, Mr. Michael Donohoe, announced that fifty thousand dollars will be raised within the next two years for the reconstruction of the Irish College in Rome. More than two thousand members attended and endorsed the proposal.

"The chief mission of the Ancient Order of Hibernians is to promote the ideals which are part of the age-old religion and culture of the Irish race," said the Rt. Rev. William Turner, Bishop of Buffalo, in his welcome to the delegates. "The Celtic people have held steadfast to these ideals, whether in Ireland, the United States, Canada, Australia, South Africa, or elsewhere."

A letter was discovered some time ago in the archives of the Archbishop's House, Westminster, which revives an old controversy. In this letter Dr. Lingard, the famous historian, declares that Pope Leo XII created him a Cardinal.

The letter, which is addressed to a Dr. Dunn, was published in a recent issue of the *Westminster Cathedral Chronicle*. After referring to other subjects, Dr. Lingard says:

"Had I been twenty or thirty years younger you think that the electricity of my head might have drawn a Cardinal's cap to it. Why are you ignorant that it did draw one about twenty years ago?

"When next you go to Ushaw ask to see the large gold medal which Leo XII gave to me; one of that class of medals which the Popes give exclusively to Cardinals and independent princes.

"He wished me to stay in Rome, would supply me with every kind of aid for my studies, etc., etc. I replied that I must return to England to finish my history. However, he made me Cardinal—in petto—in his breast, that is, to be publicly announced later—and informed the conclave that he had pitched on me as card: in petto, who was a foreigner, an historian, not a common historian repeating other writers, but one who had drawn history from the fountain's head, etc. * * *

Mr. L., had he lived to pronounce my name openly, would have been raised in rank from plain Mr. L. to the name of Cardinalis Lingardi. * * *

"Ask, however, to see the medal at Ushaw, and listen to the story they may tell with it. It weighs exactly seven sovereigns. The same, but in silver, he sent to some of our Bishops."

The letter is dated August 22, 1850.

The *Westminster Cathedral Chronicle* states: "Whether Leo XII in 1826 did indeed create John Lingard a Cardinal in petto has been a subject of acute controversy.

"We know that the Pope in his allocution at the Consistory and creation of Cardinals in 1826 said that he had reserved in petto for the same dignity 'a man of great talents, an accomplished scholar, whose writings drawn ex authentisis fontibus had not only rendered great service to religion but had delighted and astonished Europe.'

"For some years this was generally accepted in Rome as indicating Lingard. Later, however, Cardinal Wiseman, among others, expressed the opinion that the Pope had in mind the Abbe de Lammenais, whilst others believed that he had intended the honor for both these great writers.

"Leo certainly gave Lingard the Gold Jubilee medal, which etiquette then generally confined to Cardinals and princes. Regarding the medal, Canon E. Burton, D. D., has stated that the late Canon Gillow had told him that he had seen a definite statement to that effect written by Lingard himself.

"It was written on the paper in which the historian kept the medal presented to him by the Holy Father, in the following words: 'The Pope gave me this when he made me Cardinal'."

The American Catholic Philosophical Association is planning a national observance of the approaching fiftieth anniversary of the issuance of Pope Leo XIII's Encyclical "Aeterni Patris," the great document which marked the beginning of the revival of Scholastic philosophy.

The association is the first body in any country to plan an observance of the Encyclical's anniversary, so far as is known, although it is expected that Catholic philosophers in other countries will adopt the idea.

Pope Leo issued the great Encyclical on August 4, 1879, infusing into Scholasticism a new vigor that has waxed through the years until this Catholic system has today attained to an influential place in the realm of philosophy. The fiftieth anniversary, then, falls on August 4, 1929.

The Abbé Grebaut, pastor of Neuf-Marche, in the Rouen Diocese, returned recently from the mission, which he went to fulfill at the request of the director of the Vatican Library.

The Abbé Grebaut, a renowned specialist in Ethiopian antiquities, was sent to Addis-Abbeba to do some research with a view to cataloguing the ancient manuscripts in its Ethiopian language. While on this mission, he had the satisfaction of discovering 119 important manuscripts written in the ancient Ghez tongue and in classic Ethiopian.

The Rome Correspondent of *The Tablet* (London), writing under date September 5, says: "Mgr. Paschal Robinson, Archbishop of Tyana, Apostolic visitor to Palestine, left Naples yesterday for Alexandria and Jerusalem." The Archbishop has had a picturesque career.

Born at Dublin in 1870, he did journalistic work in London after giving up his study of the law. At the age of twenty-two he became associate editor of the *North American Review*, then in its prime.

Three years later he resigned his position to enter the Franciscan Order, and was ordained priest in Rome in 1901. In the following year he was Lector General of Theology. He was subsequently on the editorial staff of the *Archicum*

Franciscanum Historicum, at Quaracchi, and later explored and catalogued several archives in Central Italy hitherto inaccessible to students.

He taught theology at Mount St. Sepulchre, Washington, D. C., at St. Bonaventure's Monastery, Paterson, New Jersey, and at St. Joseph's College, Callicoon, New York. Fr. Paschal was appointed professor of medieval history at the Catholic University of America, in 1913, and held the position till 1919.

The distinguished Franciscan attended the Peace Conference at Paris in 1919, in connection with the question of the Holy Places, which took him to Palestine later in the year, and again the following year.

Since then he has been actively engaged in negotiating the settlement of various important questions affecting Catholic rights and interests in the Near East.

He was appointed Apostolic Visitor for Palestine in July, 1925, and consecrated Archbishop by Cardinal Van Rossum on June 26.

Besides having published numerous books, he has contributed largely to periodical literature, and about twenty articles in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* are from his pen.

Four collections of inestimable value lately became the property of the Library of Congress under the will of Mrs. John Boyd Thacher of Albany, who died February 18, it was announced at the Library recently.

These collections were the life work of John Boyd Thacher, perhaps the greatest of American collectors. The various articles have been placed on deposit at the Library of Congress from time to time, but they now become the property of the Government outright.

Dr. Herbert Putnam, librarian of Congress, says that this material, much of it beyond possibility of duplication, constitutes one of the most notable additions ever made to the Library through private benefaction.

The collections are as follows:

About 930 volumes printed before 1501, constituting some of the choicest examples of early printing.

About 800 books relating to Christopher Columbus, early exploration and early cartographer, among them 34 editions of the works of Ptolemy.

About 1,600 books on the French Revolution.

Two collections of autographs. One is mostly of royal personages, comprising 676 manuscripts, 111 broadsides and printed documents and 578 photographs and drawings. The other is on the French Revolution and contains about 500 pieces, with the autographs, usually signed to personal letters, of all the foremost figures in this period of history.

Dr. Putnam states that the bequest was a signal manifestation of the patriotism of American scholarship. Mrs. Thacher was associated closely with her husband in his historical investigations. The wealth of the collection in color and romance, as well as in historical material, is considered inestimable.

The fifteenth century books—the incunabula, or "cradle books," as they are called, because they represent the infancy of the art of printing—number 840 different editions, or more than one-eighth of the entire number of incunabula known to be owned in the United States. The 840 different editions in this single

collection include 235 that are the only copies at present known to exist in the Western Hemisphere.

M. Emile Mâle, Mgr. Duchesne's successor as director of the French School in Rome, has been elected to the French Academy.

Religious art is his special study, and he has traveled all over France studying the cathedrals. His chief work is a magnificent book on *Religious Art in France in the Middle Ages.*

H. E. Cardinal Andrew Fruhwirth, O.P., has been nominated by the Holy Father to the post of Chancellor of the Holy Roman Church in succession to the late Cardinal Cagiano de Azevedo. Cardinal Fruhwirth, who is eighty-two, has been Master-General of the Dominicans and Papal Nuncio at Munich. He was created Cardinal in the first Consistory of Benedict XV, in 1915. Since December, 1924, he has filled the post of Penitenziere Maggiore, with residence in the Palace of the Holy Office.

Cardinal Thomas Pius Boggiani, also of the Dominican Order, has been chosen as Papal Legate for the National Italian Eucharistic Congress to be held in Bologna in the first week of September. The city of Bologna possesses the tomb of St. Dominic, and was the home of Blessed Imelda Lambertini, the Eucharistic Saint, Patroness of First Communicants.

The Eighth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association will be held in the Fairfax Room, Hotel Willard, Washington, D. C., December 27-29, 1927. The American Historical Association and other historical groups will meet at the same time at the Willard.

The general subject of the meeting is the historical development of the Church's attitude towards some of the principal international problems of the present day.

The following scholars have accepted papers and will treat their respective subjects from the historical standpoint:

1. *The Church and Higher Education*—The Right Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, D.D., Rector, Catholic University of America.

2. *The Church and Scholastic Philosophy*—The Right Rev. Monsignor Edward A. Pace, D.D., Ph.D., Vice-Rector, Catholic University of America.

3. *The Church and Freedom of Thought*—The Rev. Dr. John A. Ryan, Professor of Moral Theology, Catholic University of America.

4. *The Church and Political Governments*—Hon. William Franklin Sands, Washington, D. C.

5. *The Church and Social Action*—The Rev. Joseph C. Husslein, S. J., Associate Editor of *America.*

6. *The Church and Nationalism*—The Rev. John J. Burke, C.S.P., General Secretary, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, D. C.

7. *The Church and Democracy*—The Rev. Moorhouse F. X. Millar, S.J., Associate Editor of *Thought*.

8. *The Church and International Peace*—The Rev. Dr. John K. Cartwright, Professor of Church History, Sulpician Seminary, Washington, D. C.

The International Catholic Organization "Ika," the object of which is the rallying of Catholics of all nations in order to foster and propagate Catholic principles of national, international and social peace, held its seventh congress at Bregenz, on the Lake of Constance (Vorarlberg, Austria), from July 28 to August 1, 1927, under the permanent chairmanship of His Lordship Bishop Sigismund Waitz, D.D., Apostolic Administrator of Feldkirch. Sixteen Bishops of seven different countries were present or were represented by delegates or letters. Representatives of Catholic associations from nine countries appeared in person, others from various parts of the world sent. The number of participants at the Congress meetings was over a hundred. The subject which occupied the congress was: "Modern Economical Life and Catholicism." The Rev. F. G. Mitzler (Bregenz) spoke on "The Economical System of Capitalism and Communism and Catholicism." Capitalism and Communism are the results of the same materialistic-utilitarian ideas. Catholicism proceeds from the superiority of spiritual excellency, creates solidarity and unites also the germs of truth contained in Capitalism and Communism. Dom Neut, O.S.B. (Lophem-les-Bruges, Belgium) spoke on "Colonial Economical Systems and Catholicism." He condemned the exploitation of natives by unscrupulous colonists and exposed its sad consequences. Professor D. A. MacLean, of the Catholic University of America (Washington, D. C.), took for his subject "Modern Industrialism and Catholicism." He laid stress on the importance of co-operative societies and warmly recommended their development. The Rev. R. A. MacGowan (Assistant Director, Social Action Department, N. C. W. C., Washington, D. C.), who substituted for Rev. Dr. P. W. Browne, Editor of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, explained "The difference between social circumstances in America and Europe." The Rev. Fr. X. Landmesser (Aix-la-Chapelle) spoke on "Bishop Ketteler and Economic Liberalism," and the modern movement of economical concentration which entirely disregards the principles of justice and charity. Mgr. N. Pfeiffer (Cassovia) read the lecture on "The Franciscan Ideal of Poverty and Social Life," sent in by the Rev. M. Carolfi, O.F.M. (Cortemaggiore, Italy), who was unable to be present. The Franciscan ideal of poverty emanates from the desire to follow Christ's example. There is nothing socialistic-revolutionary in it and yet it is an excellent means of eliminating the contrast between rich and poor. Cand. Theol. Ch. Kleiner gave a short account of the work of the Press Society "Ora et Labora," of the Rev. Canon Mgr. I. Montero Diaz (Toledo, Spain). The Congress applauded Montero's work and his proposal to celebrate a "Press Day" on the Feast of St. Peter and Paul by prayers, lectures and collections. His Lordship Bishop Waitz summarized the contents of the lectures and discussions and threw light on the Catholic point of view of the subjects treated. In his lecture at the festival meeting on July 30, under the presidency of His Eminence Cardinal Piffl, Archbishop of Vienna, His Lordship spoke of the desperate ravages and

confusion in godless science and the great tasks of Catholic science. Bishop Waitz closed the Congress by conferring the Papal Blessing, which had been sent by telegram. He invited the next "Ika" Congress to meet again in Bregenz in 1928 and to choose as subject the theme "Modern Industrialism and Catholicism." Information concerning the "Ika" work may be had from the Director Mgr. Nicholas Pfeiffer, Canon, Kosice (Cassovia), Czechoslovakia, Tovarna u.3.

"Ika" was organized at Gratz, Austria, in 1920 and it has held annual conferences at different centres ever since. In 1925 it met in Oxford and its members participated in the historic "Oxford Conference," of which a lengthy account appeared in the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, October, 1925, afterwards reprinted as a brochure of some thirty pages. The Directorate of "Ika" consists of the following: Professor Arnold, Zug, Switzerland; Rev. Dr. P. W. Browne, Washington, D. C.; Dr. C. Doka, Zürich, Switzerland; Mr. C. Meyr, London, England; Mgr. I. Montero Diaz, Canon of Toledo, Spain; Fr. A. Muller, S.J., Antwerp, Belgium; Mgr. F. X. Munch, Cologne, Germany; Sir G. de Noaillat, Paray-le-Monial, France; Rt. Rev. Nicholas Pfeiffer, Canon of the Cathedral of Cassovia, Chechoslovakia, G. Selzbacher, Hounef, Germany; Rev. E. Vercesi, Milan, Italy; Rev. B. Wachowski, Elberfeld, Germany.

The following letter was received some days ago from Mgr. Pfeiffer, the organizer.

Illustrissime et Colendissime Domine!

Honor mihi est, Dominationi Vestrae veluti Membro Praesidii, seu Directionis Operis "Ika" nuntium hic acclusum de felici exitu congressus Operis nostri certiorem facere, item de proximo congressu post unum annum iterum in Bregenz coadunando juzta invitationem Rmi. D. Episcopi Waitz a congressu cum applausu acceptatam. Optimas pro *excellentos* oratores Rev. MacLean et MacGowan gratias. Dissertationes coram omnibus, praesertim et Episcopo Waitz *valde* placebant. Dignetur tempore opportuno pro sequentis anni congressu quoquo talem nobis ex U. S. A. oratorem procurare!

Nec non liceat annuntiare, in Directione Operis "Ika" a congressu sequentes amicos Operis nostri electos esse: Rm. D. F. Mack, Canonicus et Director Convictus Luxemburgensis, Rm. Msgr. St. Madaràz, Abbas, Parochus Budapestinensis in Hungaria, Rev. F. G. Metzler, Professor in Bregenz, Cl. D. Mauritius Vaussard, Redactor Parisiensis, Cl. D. Wilkinson, Prof. Universitatis de Oxford.

Profundo cum homagio.

Bregenz (transeunter), die 12. Aug., 1927.

Mgr. Dr. Nicolaus Pfeiffer,
Canon. Cassov., Negotia Gerens Op. ika.

BOOK REVIEWS

Life, Character and Influence of Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam. By John Joseph Mangan, A.M., M.D. Two Volumes. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927.

Within Christian times there is hardly any period more picturesque, more colourful, more vaunted, and it must be said also more disedifying, than that of the Renaissance. Men broke rudely with the immediate past, whose knowledge and achievements they made it a point of honour to decry; they became infatuated with antiquity; they desired to put back the hands of time, and make those classic centuries with their ideals, language, social and moral outlook come to life again. These humanists despised their mother tongue; nothing was worthy of publication except it was written in Greek or Latin; no one could do anything but themselves, no one knew anything but themselves; and amongst themselves they fought and wrangled and flung filthy epithets at one another, and wrote abominable lampoons and epigrams on one another, such as no gentleman would permit himself even to think of. "To students of history," says Farrar, "the mere names of Della Casa, Folengo, Bandello, Filelfo, Bibbiena, Bembo, Pomponatus and Poggio are enough. Some of these men abused each other through folio pages of a scurrility wholly untranslatable—*quae etiam prostituti ut meretricarii verentur proferre.*" (*Witness of History to Christ 116.*) These humanists too were amongst the basest of mankind, always seeking for places and pensions, always ready to fawn when their whims were gratified, always ready to befoul at the slightest criticism or opposition. Perhaps what strikes a modern reader most forcibly is the enormity of these men's pretensions and the meagreness of the results. Their poetry, their dissertations, their harrangues, their invectives—and in abuse they certainly excelled—are dead. No one reads them to-day, in fact no one would be bothered reading them. Sabbadini, probably the greatest modern authority on the literature of the Renaissance in Italy, could not find a publisher for the correspondance of Guarino, which he with infinite pains had collected and annotated. A German review devoted to the subject *Vierteljahrschrift fur Kultur und Litteratur der Renaissance* had to sus-

pend publication after a brief life of one year. These *soi-disant* poets are not poets at all. In many cases they are not even poetasters. They are clever workers in mosaics or centoists, who *remember* and transpose deftly what they have read in ancient authors. Politian's pictures of rural life are taken directly from Varro, Pliny or Columella. Propertius writes *pinus amata*, Politian writes *pinus amata*. Pliny writes *morus sapiens*, Politian writes *morus sapiens*. Claudian writes *et glaebas fecundo rore maritat*. Here Politian ventures on a tiny change and writes *et glaebas fecundis rorobus implet*. There is not a touch, not an image, in fact hardly a substantive or an adjective which does not hide a learned allusion or reminiscence. This is erudition, and perhaps culture of a kind; it certainly is neither poetry nor truth. In glancing over these sickening conceits and pseudo-learned twaddle, tainted nearly always with sniggering indecency and disgusting erotomania, one thinks instinctively of what glorious literature has been produced by noble and worthy emotion without any thought whatsoever of fine writing: for instance, the poetry and prose of St. Theresa, the orations of Bossuet, the conferences of Lacordaire.

Mr. Mangan's two large volumes tell the story of one of the greatest and best of the humanists, Erasmus. It is a work of immense erudition and immense labour. The labour expended on the XXVII chapter of the second volume, where the various editions and translations of Erasmus' works are tabulated and enumerated, must have been enormous. As he unfolds the chequered life of his hero Mr. Mangan gives copious extracts from the letters and writings of Erasmus. The reader is thus enabled to feel the pulse of the humanist, so to speak, and become acquainted with his moods, his constant dissatisfaction and unceasing restlessness. These translations, excellent though they are, cannot convey the ease, charm and perfect naturalness of Erasmus' Latin prose. For two of the scholar's productions still live and may be read with interest. The *Colloquia Familiaria* and the *Encomium Moriae* lack completely that "deadness," which we noted above as the bane of the humanist productions. The *Colloquia* is a series of pictures taken from life, and often sketched with the verve of a modern short story-teller. Has not Scott utilised the *Diversoria* in his *Anne of*

Geierstein, and has not Charles Reade embodied passage after passage in his *Cloister and the Hearth?* In his wildest dreams Swift never imagined that his savage satire of Gulliver would become an admirable fairy-story dear to children. We wonder what would Erasmus say if he knew that his ripe learning and varied knowledge were used to teach modern boys their first halting steps in Latin? We have besides us two elementary Latin works, one by a French author the other by an English, and both works are merely small excerpts carefully expurgated and diluted down from the *Colloquia. Habent fata libelli.* In his second volume, pp. 86-125 the author gives full consideration to the relations that obtained between Luther and Erasmus. On p. 124 is quoted the letter containing the adroit flattery of Henry VIII. According to the writer the monarch is a veritable Bayard, *sans peur et sans reproche.* This exaggerated and totally undeserved style of compliment formed the very stable of humanism when it suited, and need surprise no one. Mr. Mangan brings out well how Erasmus by his shuffling ways managed to offend all parties: "He was hated by Luther and the extremists of his party, detested by the monks upon whom he had poured out all the virulence and bitterness of his nature; besides this, his orthodoxy was suspected by the Catholic theologians, and his heterodoxy by the Reformers." Vol. II, p. 280. It used to be asserted that Erasmus died without receiving the sacraments. Mr. Mangan basing himself on the researches of Mgr. De Ram asserts the direct contrary. The scholar died in the arms of a young Belgian priest and with his failing breath he gasped, *O MATER DEI MEMENTO MEI!* A famous Catholic historian Godefroid Kurth, a Belgian and consequently practically a countryman of Erasmus, sums up with that epigrammatic neatness which distinguishes French prose, what his contemporaries thought of the great humanist and what to the modern critic appears to be his value to-day—"Erasme de Rotterdam, notre quasicompatriote, est le type le plus célèbre et, du reste, le plus estimable de cette famille d'esprits. Il fut encensé de son temps à l'egal d'un dieu et se prit de très bonne foi pour un genie dirigeant, alors qu'il etait tout bonnement un homme d'école bourré de latin et de grec d'ailleurs bien digéré." (*L'Eglise aux tournants de l'histoire*, p. 143.) The judgment is perhaps a little

scornful but is certainly justified. In the calm unbiassed perspective of history the humanists with their pitiful jealousies and diseased megalomania appear very small creatures indeed. Mr. Mangan has made a very noteworthy contribution to the study of an interesting personality. His painstaking industry and scientific probity deserve the very highest praise.

WILLIAM P. H. KITCHIN, PH.D.

S. Avreli Avgvstini Hipponiensis Episcopi De Catechizandis Rudibus Liber Unus. Translated with an Introduction and Commentary by Joseph Patrick Christopher. Brookland, D. C.: The Catholic Educational Press.

Professor Alexander Souter, an expert in patristic studies, informs his readers in a recent work that "important Scriptural studies of the "language of St. Augustine have appeared recently in the 'Patristic Studies' of the Catholic University of America." We feel sure that the *maestro* has included in his encomium the present splendid monograph. For Father Christopher has produced an elaborate, scholarly and at the same time *interesting* edition of St. Augustine's *De Catechizandis Rudibus*. Academic treatises as a rule lack the power of gripping the attention of all except a small and one-sided coterie. This volume can be read with pleasure as well as with profit. The author's introduction is brief—barely thirteen pages. We could wish that paragraphs IV, V, VII and VIII were longer than they are. The writers of the middle ages, the great French preachers in particular Bossuet, and in modern times Lacordaire were deeply indebted to St. Augustine. It would have been interesting to mark that literary indebtedness and appraise its extent. In this connection we may remark that l'abbé Hamon in his classic treatise on preaching, speaking of St. Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana* and *De Catechizandis Rudibus* says: "ces deux ouvrages sent des mines inepuisables: plus on les etudie, plus on y decouvre de richesses" (*La Predication*, p. IX, X). How many preachers and moralists in the course of ages must have worked those mines! After these preliminaries the author prints the text, with his translation *en regard*. His version is excellent. Here and there however, the sentences, hugging their text

rather too closely, are somewhat long. Clearness, we think, might have been gained without any injury to accuracy by breaking up lengthy pericopes into several short and co-ordinate sentences. A work written fifteen centuries ago in a language, society and milieu *as far* apart as the poles from ours, must stand in need of considerable elucidation and commentary. Father Christopher is abundant in his explanations, which extend to two hundred and sixteen pages. And when, after wrestling with some knotty sentence, which insolently refuses to reveal itself, we seek enlightenment from the notes we are delighted with the author's knowledge, tact, grammatical and lexicographical discernment. On almost every other page we find something to learn; or something is recalled to us that we had half-forgotten, with new phrases and examples *à l'appui.* We note too the author's constant care to contrast classical with post-classical usage, and to show clearly the differences and contrasts between the two. Among the vast number of notes it is difficult and perhaps invidious to make a selection; each mind, too, is bound to have its own preferences, and, so to speak, frame its own excellences in such matters, but to us the following annotations seemed particularly well done. Page 126 note on *imbuendi sunt,* which explains the slow evolution of the gerundive. Page 134 note on *perdurant illa cum syllabarum morulis—morula,* a rather rare word and of an African flavour. Page 146 a very long note a propos of the "Itala" and Vulgate versions of the New Testament. Page 172 note on *sacramentorum,* where the various shades of meaning that fell to this word in pagan and christian circles are accurately traced. Page 192 the interesting note on *minuta mansa inspuere parvulo filio,* where the writer directs attention to a reminiscence of Cicero, and adds: "the classical authors, particularly Cicero, Vergil, and Quintilian, were so familiar to Augustine that it is frequently hard to say whether certain expressions are direct reminiscences or phrases and tags that in Augustine's time had become literary commonplaces."

Page 220 note on *typhus*—This word in the sense of "vanity" or "folly of the world" was a technical term among the Stoics. It is one of the few Grecisms in Augustine not taken from Biblical Greek, and it is a word of which he is peculiarly fond.

On page 284 Father Christopher points out the curious lapse

made by St. Augustine in stating that St. Peter's shadow raised a dead man to life. Similar unaccountable slips are found throughout literary history. For instance, Charles Lamb "remembered" from a translation of Dante two lines that do not exist there! Hazlitt is noted for the inaccuracy of his quotations; and last but by no means least Georg Brandes, who in his recent work *Jesus a Myth* poses as an authority on New Testament criticism, makes a gross error of fact in an assertion about the Gospel of St. John.

The foregoing are just a few examples taken from Father Christopher's full and helpful notes; it would be quite easy to double and treble their number. But those we have adduced show the author's painstaking comment and thorough erudition. We have long thought that our Catholic youth in colleges and seminaries should be initiated into the gems of patristic literature. An anthology suitably selected from the writings of the Fathers would be far more beneficial to Catholic students than the usual so-called classical excerpts. Perhaps at some later date Father Christopher might be persuaded to publish a simpler and more elementary edition of his present masterpiece.

WILLIAM P. H. KITCHIN, PH.D.

In China. By Abel Bonnard. Translated by Veronica Lucas. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. Pp. 361.

The French edition of this book "En Chine" received the Grand Literary Prize awarded by the French Academy. The author begins his journey from Peking to South China through the Yang-tse Valley and most of the principal cities along the coast. In his visit to the Temple of Heaven in Peking he describes, "The proportions of these buildings are so exact, they defer to each other in such exquisite relationship, that all together they give the impression of some motionless ceremonial. One can not distinguish how it comes about, but in all these buildings the pleading is strangely combined with the august. It is an architecture devised for dignitaries and philosophers, and regulated by a harmony so subtle, that after having looked at it, you bend your head as if to listen to it" (p. 7.)

Throughout the journey the author is very much interested in the French Catholic missionaries in China. In page 133, "The missionaries are distinguished from all the other foreign residents in China by the fact that they have a great deal of commendation of the Chinese to advance to you. It is instinctive caution in the first place, no doubt, which makes them talk like this, but having taken far more trouble to know the Chinese and to dwell on their good points than any other foreigners, it is also highly probable that they have discovered good in them, which remains hidden from other Europeans."

The reviewer can not agree with the author's following statements (p. 353). "In order to avoid misunderstandings, the different civilizations of the world should only communicate through the medium of the elite of each nation. Far from demanding that the young Chinamen should sever all connection with their own race, they ought to be encouraged to refer back in all things to their source. Many of these who go abroad for education only develop an acid and jealous disposition towards the nation they are visiting in proportion as they lose their feeling for their own country." Should the closer contact of different peoples decrease the extent of magnanimity? If the return students lost patriotism for their country, how is it that they are the leaders of social and industrial development? It is true the more we see of other countries the more we love our own. But it does not follow that we shall dislike others. Patriotism is one thing and nationalism is another.

On the whole the book is literally splendid. The classical and poetical abilities of the author have enabled him to present to Western readers the beauty and many mysteries of the Celestial Empire, although there are quite disputable views regarding political, social and educational conditions.

LEO P. L. WOO.

American Masters of Social Science. An Approach to the Study of the Social Sciences through a Neglected Field of Biography. Edited by Howard W. Odum. New York: Henry Holt and Company.

Pioneer work in whatever field of human endeavor it may be is always interesting and fascinating. If in addition the story

of this work represents a record of unusual achievement it takes on an inspiring quality. Of such type is the history of the development of the social sciences in our country. Dating back not more than fifty years it is associated with the names of men of rare mental caliber and can boast of accomplishments that compel admiration. It was a happy inspiration that prompted the writing of this volume dedicated to the rehearsal in biographical form of the auspicious beginnings of the social sciences in our country.

Social science is a rather comprehensive term. In fact it is a little too vague to mark off clearly any particular field of research. The result of this inconvenience is that the present volume brings into close proximity men whose special departments of study lie far apart. It deals somewhat indiscriminately with students of such different subjects as history, economics and sociology. This must be considered a drawback. It would be preferable to maintain more rigidly the lines of demarcation between the various branches of human learning. The science that unifies and integrates human knowledge after all is not social science but philosophy. To identify social science with "a survey of all human knowledge," as Professor Ward would do, means to give an anthropocentric interpretation to the world. That is a spurious unity and leads to the confusion of which the same Professor complains, when he remarks: "I have studied fifty-seven different varieties and don't yet know what sociology is."

The readers of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW will be chiefly interested in the biographical sketches of John W. Burgess, Herbert B. Adams, William A. Dunning, Frederick J. Turner and James Harvey Robinson, who are historians in the current acceptation of the term. Thorstein Veblen will be claimed by the economists and Lester F. Ward, Albion Small and Franklin H. Giddings belong to sociology. All of these writers not infrequently indulge in more or less legitimate excursions into adjacent fields which makes it difficult to classify them in a definitive way. Therein they are not unlike most writers of our day.

American historians have enjoyed opportunities not given to others. They were privileged to study at first hand the development of society from simpler to more complex forms. "The United

States lies like a huge page in the history of society. Line by line as we read this continental page from west to east we find the record of social evolution." (F. J. Turner). This accounts for the clearer insights of our historians into the social process and the bolder vividness of their descriptions. Social science as also the psychology of religion find a very favorable soil in America. The past in this respect gives great promise for the future.

The sketches in the volume are defty done. Though slightly eulogistic in tone, they are withal critical and instructive. As an approach to the study of the social sciences they will render excellent service; for what a science is and what it aims to do can best be learned from its chief and accredited exponents. This genetic approach has an appeal that no systematic exposition can rival. The interest of the book is not limited to academic circles; it has much to say to the practical statesman and the politician. If history is past politics, the men who shape the destinies of our nation will do well to listen to the lessons of history. Here they will find much sound wisdom. Thus when Prof. Burgess says: "It is high time for us to call a halt in our present course of increasing the sphere of government and decreasing that of liberty," he voices the experience of the past which our generation is in imminent danger of completely forgetting. Utterances of this kind abound, and they are the more valuable since they have behind them sound scholarship and high authority.

Acknowledging wholeheartedly the splendid work accomplished by these American masters of social science and giving them due credit for the contributions they have made to human learning in their respective fields, we at the same time admit that we are not in entire sympathy with most of their assumptions concerning human nature and the ultimate meaning of history. They push their evolutionist theories to extremes which we look upon as unwarranted. Society is explained in terms of a subrational level. This pseudos proton of modern social science is the necessary source of many other fatal errors. This basic disagreement need not, however, mar our enjoyment of these delightful and stimulating biographical outlines of the great teachers and scholars that have created American social science.

CHARLES R. BRUEHL.

China and Her Political Entity. By Shuhsi Hsü. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch.

Very few books have ever been written in the English language about the history of China, which are based on the Chinese as well as on the occidental sources. It is especially so about the Chinese foreign relations. The occidental historians and diplomats influenced by political, social and racial propaganda, often present to us the views which are so partial that we begin to see the validity of the saying "Whatever is written about China ain't true."

Dr. Hsü's volume traces the problems of Korea, Manchuria and Mongolia to antiquity, showing the gradual growth of the invasive ambition of foreign powers especially Japan and Great Britian. A large number of references are given to Chinese and foreign documents, reviews and journals. Few statements are made without strong historical background. This book is the result of thorough political, social and historical researches of many years. It will certainly do us good to read this valuable book so that we will be able to see the complicated causes of the present unrest in China and also that we may realize that the Chinese are merely anti-imperialistic rather than anti-foreign or anti-Christian.

LEO P. L. WOO.

A Guide to the Printed Materials for English Social and Economic History, 1750-1850. By Judith Blow Williams, Ph.D. **The Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies.** Edited by James T. Shotwell. New York: Columbia University Press. 1925. Two volumes. Pp. xxiv + 525; 653.

Before the Great War overtook the world Professor Shotwell planned to publish some of the outstanding sources for the history of civilization. Several works appeared that are too well known to the scholarly public to justify our mentioning them. The war retarded work on this notable series and drew its editor into other fields. Some of us began to fear that the *Records* were not to be continued. Happily our fears were not well founded. Another capable editor was found in Professor Austin P. Evans, and the two volumes under consideration are evidence that the *Records* are going to be well continued.

Dr. Williams has much to show for ten years of search for books on the *gesta* of the most phenomenal century of the ages so far as industrial progress is concerned. To search she has added, it seems to us, rare judgment in the selection of books, for in her period the problem that taxes the investigator is not a dearth of material, but the selection of the best. He would not leave one volume unread. It might contain a nugget of fact or thought! Yet to read all he can lay his hands on or learn to know through references would consume a life time. Thanks to Dr. Williams, he may be nearly sure that he has all the printed evidence that is worth while when he has examined what she has listed and appraised. Some items, to be sure, escaped her, but even Homer nods. Hers is a comprehensive survey of the vast mass of printed sources for the first hundred years of the Industrial Revolution in England. The publishers announcement accurately reports the contents of the volume. "The first volume deals largely with materials of general import: biographies, official documents, periodicals, biographies and the like. The second is devoted to the works dealing with particular subjects. In chronological order are listed contemporary books and pamphlets followed by modern works on the history of the subject in this period. Among the subjects treated are economic theory, the problem of population, prices, commerce, money and banking, public finance, transportation, machinery and engineering, agriculture, mining, the textile industry, the factory system, the poor laws, co-operation, trade unions, the criminal code, education, Chartism and Socialism."

The Overland Mail, 1849-1869, Promoter of Settlement, Procursor of Railroads. By Le Roy R. Hafen, Historian, State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado. Arthur H. Clark Company. Cleveland: P. 361.

Let us hope that we shall never be so sophisticated as not to be really thrilled by stories of the Pony Express age of our Overland mail system. Any monograph or book that will serve to keep us attune with the life of that period should be published not in a limited edition that will not be reprinted, but in a form that will assure wide circulation. Dr. Hafen's book deserves

such wide distribution. Though at times his pages are crowded with detail they always hold one's attention. They contain not only matter of interest to the general reader who prefers adventure, but also items for which the searcher for facts and their relations is on the alert. The Western mail presented a peculiar problem to our government. California developed earlier and much more rapidly than the country between it and the east, and consequently needed a better mail service than the plains and the Rockies. Distance, winter, wild Indians, and weather made this service very costly. Unfortunately, too, the government had not yet been able to make up its mind as to whether the Post Office should be operated as a business, that would pay its own way, or as a philanthropy, promotive of civilization. In 1859 six western routes showed a deficit of $1,844,949 (p. 135). The routes over which the mail should pass also became the subjects of sectional contests. The ocean route with its portage in Nicaragua served the purpose of the pioneers only ten years, but was always "under fire." The proprietors of the line saw greater profits in catering to the needs of the gold seekers than in handling the mail with care and dispatch. Overland routes were, therefore, considered. The administrations preceding the Civil war appear to have been Southern in their sympathies, and, consequently, favored a southern route. Dr. Hafen does not seem to think that the sectional interest which caused Jefferson Davis to project his southern railroad to the Pacific in the early fifties entered into the determination of the overland mail routes. Physical conditions especially in the winter season, certainly afforded strong argument against the selection of more northerly routes. The latter, however, came into being because of the agitation in northern towns in the East as well as in California and the region between the east and west. The "Pony Express" followed one of these northern routes. Its days were not many in the land. The telegraph and the railroad brought it to an untimely end. Its conduct, however, still draws our interest as it compelled the admiration of the people who lived in its day. As an example of American enterprise and efficiency the Pony Express, and the stage coach system of which it was a corollary, yield place to few facts of our historical development. In *Roughing It* Mark Twain tells a story which Dr. Hafen reprints (p.

299) of the travels of a youth who had "travelled the coaches" to California. The young man was in Palestine. A friendly pilgrim companion tried to impress on him the magnitude of Moses' task in bringing the Jewish tribes out of the land of Egypt three hundred miles over desert country into the Land of Promise. "It was a wonderful, wonderful thing to do, Jack! Think of it!" It had taken Moses forty years. "Forty years? Only three hundred miles? Humph! Ben Holladay,"—the proprietor of the western Stage Coach lines—"would have fetched them through in thirty-six hours."

In Dr. Hafen's book the reader will find many citations from the newspapers of the stage coach age in the west, and stories gleaned from out of the way sources. Were it fair to the author we would quote them *in extenso* for the sake of making our writing vivid. We shall only cite Dr. Hafen's excerpts from the *Rocky Mountain News*, August 1859, and subsequently, which describe the arrival and departure of the coaches of the Leavenworth and Pikes Peak Express Company (pp. 153 ff.), amusing incidents over rates (p. 156), and the coaches travelled for over a hundred miles through buffalo herds (p. 236).

Antonio de Mendoza. By Arthur Scott Aiton. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. Pp. xii + 240.

It is very significant that in current public discussions of the Church, antagonists of the Church are careful to state that they do not question the religious belief of Catholics and that the religion of Catholics is referred to generally with respect and reverence. The controversy turns about the question of the relations of Church and State.

That question turns up everywhere, from the candidacy of the Governor of New York for the Presidency of the United States, to the Mexican troubles. Studies of the working of this problem are, therefore, of particular importance, whether the background be a Protestant State; a State like our own in which it is accepted as a basic principle that government shall have no control over religion; or an original Catholic State like Mexico and other South American nations.

Just at present, there is a considerable output of studies of Latin America in general and of Mexico in particular, by professors of history at various universities. Duke University Press, at Durham, North Carolina, has an excellent record in this regard, and an important new publication from that source is: "Antonio de Mendoza, First Viceroy of New Spain," by Arthur Scott Aiton, Associate Professor of History in the University of Michigan.

There is in the United States, as has been amply evidenced by recent public discussion of affairs in Mexico, an ignorance almost complete of everything south of the Rio Grande. What we have of historical knowledge runs to the conquest and exploration—and that is sketchy.

Mr. Aiton has taken for his subject the first steps in colonization and administration. He has, as an historian should, taken the conditions in Spain from which, in part, this new civilization was to spring. He has recognized the particular theories of monopolistic colonization current at that period in Europe, and arising out of Europe's peculiar development and needs in transition from a feudal to a national basis. He has analyzed the social conditions from which the conquerors and the colonists sprang, and the conditions which made the choice of Antonio de Mendoza an ideal choice (from personal character, heredity and environment) for the task of consolidation after conquest, in representation of a sovereign who was at the same time vested with the contested responsibilities of supreme temporal arbiter of Christendom in the fading vision of the Holy Roman Empire, which had occupied men's minds for centuries in the regrowth of Europe out of barbarism. He sets out clearly the dual task of the viceroy: to organize the conversion of a new world to Christianity and to supply material wealth to the King-Emperor. We are apt to think of the beginnings of Mexico exclusively in the terms of Ferdinand and Isabella. Mr. Aiton thinks in terms of Charles V. The first was conquest; the second, imperial organization. He shows the burden of that dual obligation upon an upright and capable administrator, and the part played therein by churchmen. He shows priests, monks and bishops occupying administrative office and widely divergent in their views on the applicability of the New Laws. Very wide apart, for instance, were the views of church-

men on the subject of forced Indian labour. He shows the growth and fostering of an ordered colonial life, of education, of the rapid spread of Indian schools, and of the beginning of those clerical privileges and exemptions as a necessary part of the system, which later became a bone of contention between "Church" and "State" and laid the ground for much of the difficulty attending the framing of an adequate constitution, after Mexico's independence from Spain, when Mexico had imbibed the anti-religious doctrines associated by the French revolutionary writers with political liberty, and Mexico was no longer, strictly speaking, a Christian State.

Perhaps Mendoza, far sighted statesman that he was, may have had some vision of the future. "He is to be particularly praised (says Mr. Aiton in regard to the Viceroy's record with respect to education), for his advanced views on education for the priesthood. He was one of the first to advocate a *trained native priesthood*, and believed that proper conversion of the natives to more than nominal Christianity would never result from anything less compromising (Mendoza: Instrucciones que los Vireyes dejaron á sus Sucesores, p. 229)."

"Imperial exigencies forced upon Mexico a feudal colouring which has not yet faded out.

". . . the threat of a great loss of revenue and the possible depopulation of New Spain soon overcame the religious ardour and humane intentions of the government. . . ."

". . . With this revocation of Spain's greatest program of humane legislation (the new laws of Las Casas) the social lot of the Indians was definitely decided and, despite subsequent attempts at enforcement of the laws, the principle of compulsory labor became fixed in the social system of New Spain (p. 99)." Therein we have the germ of what to-day is so lightly designated as the responsibility of "Bolshevism" for Mexico's lamentable condition.

It is a subject worthy of intensive study by Catholic historians, and of specialized study at catholic institutions of learning. The vast archives of this period are undeveloped mines of wealth.

WILLIAM FRANKLIN SANDS.

Church and State in Mexico, 1822-1857. By Wilfrid Hardy Calcott, of the University of South Carolina. Duke University Press, Durham, N. C.

It is deplorable that in the growing volume of historical studies of our American neighbors, Catholic writers are not availing themselves of the generous facilities placed at the disposal of students of history by the State Department. These achives should be an asset to the Catholic historian intrinsic to his understanding of the foundations of the South American colonies and the nations which grew from them. They should be a peculiar asset to the American Catholic historian for his understanding of both republican principles and catholic principles. They should, finally, be an asset to the Southern Catholic historian in his understanding also of the aristocratic and oligarchical basis of South American culture, so very similar to that of our own Southern States in the Colonial and pre-Civil War period.

Mr. Calcott's sketch of the efforts of Mexican constitution makers to "separate" Church and State is an excellent illustration of just these particular understandings. It is not to be expected that one not possessing them could quite see both sides, which is obviously an historical defect. It is a fair and painstaking work and every advance in knowledge of our Southern neighbours is of greatest value and importance. None is complete however that does not evidence understanding as well as knowledge of the fundamentals in the character and culture of the people concerned.

One minor but important illustration of what I mean may serve to clarify this statement. The author, in contrasting the "morality" of the mestizo and of the Indian elements in the Mexican population, for the purpose of showing the excellent qualities of those who principally supported the revolution and the "separation" movement, brings forward the much misunderstood statistics of illegitimacy.

That is precisely a point of understanding. The Indian, even when still half a pagan, was and is strict in those rules of the Church which he understands. Marriage, to him, is a sacrament. Lacking a priest to solemnize it, he founds his family nevertheless, rejecting the civil registry, and his fidelity to his

wife and hers to him compare excellently well to that of many people further north.

The mestizo class of which our author speaks was and is very largely identified with the "Liberal" element. Marriage to the Liberal is a civil contract, registered before civil authority.

The Indian's children, registered neither by parish records (since very often there is no parish) nor by civil authority, are "officially" illegitimate; the Mestizo's children, registered in the civil records, are "officially" legitimate. There is no possible evidence therein of "morals," good, bad or indifferent.

In all Mexican history the Church has played a leading part. Churchmen have been prominent in civic affairs, have been politically intensely active. A principal object of their activity has been the protection of the native Indian population, a wholly praiseworthy aim, but no principle of infallibility extends to the cleric in politics. It is high time that we study such additions to knowledge of Mexican affairs as that of Mr. Calcott, and it is very important that Catholic Americans begin their contribution to historical studies of South America. It is a great pity that some fraction of the educational fund raised by the Knights of Columbus could not have been used for historical research.

WILLIAM FRANKLIN SANDS.

Chile and Its Relations With the United States. By Henry Clay Evans, Jr., Ph.D. of the University of Florida. Duke University Press, Durham, N. C.

The author's name is singularly appropriate to the subject. In the troubled days of the Independence Movement throughout South America, North Americans were very closely occupied with their own affairs, domestic and European. Monroe was interested in the spread of republican institutions, but theoretically more than in practical sympathy with our neighbours. He was more interested in the growth of the American policy of strict neutrality in the concerns of Europe and he greatly feared the Holy Alliance of Emperors. Adams, in his blunt way, never hesitated to express his utter skepticism of the development of a republican form of government among the peoples of South America. His interest was purely North American. His policy,

a rapprochement, as far as compatible with American safety, to England.

Henry Clay was the outstanding figure in public life sympathetic to South American aspirations as he understood them. It would be of interest to study the possible effect upon his public attitude of his intimate friendship with the Philadelphia Meades, whose romantic experiences in Spain and whose disappointment in Ferdinand VII together with their interests in Florida no doubt weighed heavily in their advocacy of complete independence of the colonies from the Spanish Crown. The interest of that Philadelphia group: Meade, Mifflin, Ingersoll, etc., in South American affairs has been somewhat overshadowed by the New England attitude.

Our author records an unflattering chapter of our diplomatic history. Chileans will be the first to admit the difficulties of their emergence into nationhood, and the external as well as the internal problems which their people were called upon to solve. We might have been pardoned for a lack of comprehension of those difficulties one hundred years ago, but there seems to be no reasonable excuse for the consistency of our haphazard and unconstructive diplomacy for all the following century in our relations with a particularly proud and virile nation.

The steady stream of illuminating studies of our South American relations is a direct result of the broad and helpful policy of Mr. Richard Olds, Undersecretary of State, and of Mr. Tyler Dennett, Chief of the Division of Publications, under Secretary Kellogg.

It is a pity that our own students of American history are not taking equal advantage of this opportunity.

WILLIAM FRANKLIN SANDS.

Foreign Policies of the United States; Their Bases and Development. By James Quayle Dealey. Boston: Ginn and Co. Pp. viii + 402.

This book, abounding in admirable summaries of our diplomatic relations, is a valuable addition to the stock of literature for collateral reading in our High School history classes and for text purposes in our colleges Dr. Dealey *really* studies our interna-

tional relations. Seven chapters are devoted to the "conditions basal to the policies and the agencies through which these are formulated." The remaining fifteen are concerned with the evolution of our foreign policies. After the war of 1812 we were so occupied by the problem of our domestic development that we gave little heed to foreign affairs. In this period, however, was developed the Monroe Doctrine which after 1870, especially after we acquired the Canal Zone and constructed the Panama Canal, was superseded by what Dr. Dealey calls our Caribbean policy. Monroe's doctrine, nevertheless, has not become an "obsolete shibboleth." It may at any time be invoked and will be defended because it has stood as a fundamental policy for over a hundred years. Our policy seems to Dr. Dealey to be to speed the parting European "guests" still "at our American table." The Guianas, he thinks, will in the course of time be freed from their European tutelage. Canada he regards as a nation; as such, the United States has come to see that annexation is out of question. Before 1870, too, we had become interested in the Pacific and in the Far East. The "Pacific seems destined to be the center of the world's future naval and commercial activity" (p. 263). The last five chapters, dealing with "our changing policies" toward Europe, Latin America, and the Far East, might in our opinion, well have been set up as a distinct "Part Three" of the book. Dr. Dealey's views are clear: birth control is inevitable for nations that know the law of health (p. 70); the federal government needs to control education in order to harmonize sectional feelings in the interest of happy foreign relations (p. 33); immigration will hereafter have to be restricted (p. 39) and the present laws are a triumph of social and labor interests over those of capital (p. 198); etc.

A British Fusilier in Revolutionary Boston. Edited by Allen French. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1926. Pp. xi + 83.

A British officer, Lieutenant Frederick Mackenzie, kept a journal of his military career which extended from 1748 to 1791. Of this record the years before 1775 have been lost; lost, we hope, as some European manuscripts have been, some day to

be found. Our historians have long been content to use only that part of the manuscript—covering the day of the battle of Lexington, April 19, 1775,—which appeared in the *Proceedings of the* Massachusetts Historical Society for March, 1890. Mr. French, however, alone was moved to recover all there was left of it. He traced the manuscript to England and now presents us with the Mackenzie account of events between January 5 and April 30, 1775. Mr. French also discovered a letter, dated New York, 29th June, 1773, in which Mackenzie tells of his voyage across the Atlantic in a troopship. The introduction and notes leave nothing to be desired in respect to critical equipment. The treatment reminds one of the *Monumenta*. Mr. French has also reproduced the only known plan of the Concord battle-field. Our notice would not be complete if we did not commend the Harvard Press for the scholarly elegance it has given the volume.

The Historic Origin and Social Development of Family Life in Russia. By Elaine Elnett, Ph.D. With a preface by Franklin H. Giddings. New York: Columbia University Press. 1926. Pp. xii + 151.

Mrs. Elnett presents a well developed and perhaps not too colorful a picture of Russian family life. She seeks to penetrate to "the depths of Russian social consciousness." These depths she believes may not be reached through the use of literary sources because literature had been too severely censored. Her reliance is placed on folklore and on proverbs: these embody a people's philosophy of life. Mrs. Elnett's study necessarily has to do chiefly with woman and her status. In the early times which Nestor described in his chronicle (and, consequently, are hardly primitive) woman was strong, even if she was given to what we to-day should quite properly look upon as being licentious. This matriarchal order, however, gradually yielded to a patriarchal order and the ideas of this order were further strengthened by the influence of Byzantium and of the Tatars. Byzantium has in our historical treatise too generally escaped the censure it deserves for its share in the retarding of Russia. Mrs. Elnett is not sparing in her criticism of the evil effects of the over-zealous ascetism of the Greek church on the position of

womanhood and on the family life. Spare the rod and spoil the wife as well as the children was the maxim. Mongolian ideas developed the terem. Morality was not improved. The situation became so inherently vicious that infidelity, suicide, murder became alarmingly prevalent on the eve of Peter's accession. Even the Church remonstrated in 1693 against the use of force in the joining of men and women in matrimony.

Peter's reforms were headlong in the social as well as in the political sphere. He liberated woman from the terem only to expose her to the wiles of dissolute men. Love became a prerequisite of marriage, but the elders' decision in the match had to be accepted because love is blind and treacherous. The government invaded the family domain in the matter of training, but its educational theories did not produce real citizens. Peter was destined not to secure more than external conformity with his dictates. He did hasten the moral decadence of the upper classes. The great country population he could not change. Example, however, in time proved effective. Luxury and dissoluteness spread from the court into all classes in Catherine II's time. Her remedy was more governmental interference with the family. Children were to be educated according to the western methods of which she approved and these methods varied with her whims. Only the lack of a sufficient number of schools saved some children from being deprived of parental influence. Alexander I pronounced the family utterly incapable of bringing up children as the government wished, and the educational processes, consequently, were further assisted. Women as well as men resented the system. "George Sand's propaganda of freedom of sentiment" and "skeptical analysis of formal duty" presently affected the former not without moral loss. Depravity confounded depravity in the latter. Matters went from bad to worse in the family life of the classes most affected by the ill-judged experiments of a despotic government. That the family was not utterly destroyed in Russia was due to the fact, we think, after reading Mrs. Elnett's account, that the dear God made society "fool-proof." Even the Russian revolution, Mrs. Elnett thinks, has not got down to the real depths of Russian life.

The work is marred by but few errors. The term "Tartar" is used for Tatar and "activism" is hardly, even sociologically, justifiable as opposed to "passivity." Krek's *Einleitung in die slavische Literaturgeschichte* is still useful though not listed in the bibliography.

FRANCIS J. TSCHAN.

Principles of Human Geography. By P. Vidal de la Blache. Edited by Emmanuel de Martonne. Translated from the French by Millicent Todd Bingham, Ph.D. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 6 plates. Pp. xvi + 511.

The editor's note and the translator's preface disarm the reviewer of this book. Vidal de la Blache died suddenly in April, 1918, leaving this treatise incomplete. The editor assembled the manuscript, except the parts already in print, patiently and with great reverence. He would not make any changes "which might run the risk of being out of harmony with the peculiarly individual style of the author," and the translator has faithfully adhered to his policy. "The defects of the work are obvious. But it has been thought best not to attempt to edit it at all. As M. de Martonne did not alter the original manuscript, so it has been left in translation as it was written. There are paragraphs already out of date, such as those referring to world railway-mileage, or to the probable influence on world commerce of the opening of the Panama Canal. There is occasional repetition of phrases, even of entire sentences, as on pages 176 and 454. Furthermore, the accuracy of certain statements may be open to question. For instance, on page 37, from the fact that because 'according to the census of 1910' there was a 'slight decrease in the population of Iowa between 1900 and 1910,' the author infers that 'there seems to be no tendency to exceed' the moderate density of fifteen to twenty inhabitants per square kilometre in the Middle West. (Compare also page 414). Iowa is the only state in that region which has ever shown any decrease throughout a series of years, and during the following decade, 1910 to 1920, it showed an increase as elsewhere. (Population of Iowa in 1900, 2,231,853; in 1910, 2,224,771; in 1920, 2,404,021. *Fourteenth Census of the United States taken in the Year 1920*, Vol.

III, Population, 1920. Washington, 1922, p. 314.) The population of the entire Middle West is still steadily increasing." The translator, furthermore, has not verified notes or made corrections. Such devotion is remarkable, but not commendable. The translation has been well done, but even in it appears the blind devotion of the disciples to the master. Only the reader who knows as much as did the author can with agility leap the spaces in place and in time which he has marked. Vagueness enters his story. We read some paragraphs several times before we understood their purpose. There is a straining, too, to reproduce in English the lithness of the author's French, and the strainings are not always pleasant; for example, Civilization has "besieged" the societies of the "arctic seas, beyond the zone of forests bordering the northern confines of Old and New Worlds" *and destroyed "them in the form of alcohol"* (p. 207). In his preface the editor declares that the historical point of view "penetrates, *dominates* and inspires the examination, classification and explanation of all the facts" (p. v) and again would not have this "lofty, historical preoccupation prevent the geographical point of view from *dominating* the study of every topic" (p. vi). Nevertheless the work has been well done. Scholarship has been well served. Vital de la Blache deserves a worthy monument.

FRANCIS J. TSCHAN.

A History of American Foreign Policy. By John Holladay Latané of Johns Hopkins University. Doubleday, Page & Co. 1927.

Professor Latané, (formerly of Georgetown Foreign Service School, now of Johns Hopkins) offers a very happy method of charting the development of American foreign policy. He divides it into six parts: the consolidation of republican principles and ideals; the defiance by the newly constituted nation of the old world whose political system it abhorred and from which it had definitely attempted to separate its destiny; the rounding out of borders, with a view not only to future settlement but also to security from the danger of further colonization according to European theories and methods then existing, and the consequent

extension of our national vision, out beyond the furthest boundaries, and overseas; the diplomacy of the Civil War and growth of policy looking to the safeguarding of the Union; post-Civil War expansion in the Caribbean and the Pacific, bringing us directly into contact once more, though in a new form, with the old world colonial imperialism with which we had broken; and finally: the American return to Europe; American intervention in Europe ensuing upon the failure of the principle of neutrality and isolation laid down in our earliest policy forming period, which left the United States face to face but on new terms with some of those problems from which we fled originally, still unsolved, with the responsibility for their solution resting now in great part upon ourselves, with power in our hands warranting our utmost effort to solve them.

It is a compelling presentation of sequence. The casual reader can not read this book and escape the conclusion that a chief value of historical research lies in the formulation of public opinion based upon knowledge of the past as accurate as may be obtained. The volume is good reading and an excellent text book. The two are not always found together.

WILLIAM FRANKLIN SANDS.

The Disciple of a Saint. By Vida D. Scudder. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company.

This volume was first published in 1907. After twenty years, it has now reached its third edition. In the opening words of her enlightening preface, the author tells us that the subject of this imaginary biography is not imaginary. The saint referred to in the title is none other than St. Catherine of Siena. Her disciple is the well-known Raniero di Landoccio dei Pagliaresi. Few are better able to paint the historical background of the early fourteenth century than the author. She handles her subject reverently, in spite of the silver thread of romance which she has so dexterously woven round her saintly heroine. We miss many of the most striking scenes in the life of her who was at once nun and mystic, the spiritual mother of many children and the councellor of more than one prince and pope.

Teachers of church history have here one of the few books in lighter vein which they can safely recommend to their students. We do not hesitate to say that it deserves a place beside Fabiola, Callista, and San Celestino, in spite of a few phrases here and there which might be challenged by a critical reader.

J. F. L.

The Latinity of the Letters of Saint Ambrose. By Sister Miriam Annunciata Adams, M.A., The Catholic University of America, Patristic Studies, Volume XII, Washington, 1927.

Sister Miriam Annunciata Adams has divided her investigation into two parts, Part I treats of syntax, and Part II deals with style. Under syntax, she takes up the verb, the noun, the preposition, the pronoun, the adjective, the participle, the adverb. These are included under the general heading of the syntax of the Simple Sentence.

This portion of her investigation is followed by a study of the syntax of the Clause. Here the author treats of the use of the subordinate clause, with reference to the use of moods, and of the substantival and adjectival forms of the verb.

Part II is devoted to an examination of the style of the letters, and falls naturally into a discussion first of the vocabulary, and then of the figures of rhetoric as they have to do with the general style of the letters.

The divisions and headings are clear, and follow in logical order.

The purpose of this study is to show how far the Latin of Saint Ambrose differs from or how nearly it corresponds with classical standards. With this end in view, the author has compared the Latin of St. Ambrose with classical usage, and her investigation is both detailed and satisfactory. She has touched on important points, and her treatment is both adequate and thorough.

In the first place, the choice of the subject of the author's investigation is good. It seems clear enough that if Saint Ambrose would be likely to deviate greatly from classical norms, he would have done so in his letters. Obviously, letters, since they are

usually more free in usage than more formal treatises, even when they are "formal" letters, show us the most natural and unaffected style of an author. Here if anywhere we might reasonably expect to find the greatest amount of divergence from the classical usage.

The method adopted by the author is one best calculated to reveal any startling differences in style between the writing of Saint Ambrose and classical norms. This part of the author's work is very well done, since the divisions chosen by her would be the ones most likely to show clearly the variations from classical Latin.

The author concludes that Latin of the classical period is the basis of the Latin of Saint Ambrose, as shown by his Letters. She notes divergences from the strictly classical usage, and she shows that these differences show the influence of Livy, Tacitus, the poets, and the popular idiom. Under the last heading, namely, the influence of popular idiom on the Latin of the Fathers, the author does real service by indicating the exact extent of this influence, giving the cases where this influence of contemporary Latin is to be found. The author takes up the question with regard to the syntax of the verb, the syntax of the noun, the syntax of the preposition, the use of pronouns, the comparison of adjectives, and the syntax of the subordinate clause.

The conclusion of the author, reached after her careful study of the Letters makes a nice distinction between the point of view that has been unfortunately common, namely that Christian Latin abounds in syntactical errors (from the point of view of classical usage) and the equally erroneous idea that Christian Latin is in all points classical Latin. I quote the author's last paragraph, taken from the Summary as showing the final result of the study: "In general, the data drawn from the present study present additional material for the proper understanding of patristic Latin; the Latin of Ambrose is not that of Cicero: from the standpoint of language, by reason of the elements that have accrued to it during four centuries of Christianity, it is a much better vehicle for the expression of the thought of its time; and from the standpoint of literature it needs no justification."

The author has done her work well, and her contribution to the work of gathering data that will enable scholars to understand Christian Latin with accuracy and appreciation that is, so to say, scientific is a tribute to diligent and careful study.

F. W. D.

Carmel: Its History, Spirit, and Saints. Compiled from approved sources by the Discalced Carmelites of Boston and Santa Clara. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. Pp. 374.

Much painstaking research is represented in the volume before us. However meagre, a history of Carmel is bound to be interesting to the student of ecclesiastical history, since it includes so many characters who have figured largely in the Church militant. The ordinary reader also will welcome this book for it tells the story of that Order that produced the "Little Flower." In these pages we meet the austere Elias and his more loveable, though none the less admirable, disciple of later centuries, St. John of the Cross. St. Teresa of Avila, the inspired doctor of prayer, is beside her popular daughter, the Teresa of Lisieux. The spirit and rule of the Order are explained; the story of its origin, reformation and propagation is discussed. Quite naturally, Carmel in America receives special attention. Its annals are here given to the public, from the pioneer days at Port Tobacco to the youngest foundation in Morristown, New Jersey. For its matter and format the volume well deserves commendation. Several good illustrations add interest and charm to the pages. The book may be procured from the publishers and at the Carmel of Boston and Santa Clara.

J. F. L.

NOTICES

(Selected volumes from this list will be reviewed in later issues.)

The Wandering Scholars, by Helen Waddell (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, and New York) is an excellent study of the *Vagantes* mainly as the inheritors of the pagan learning, the classical tradition that came to its wild flowering in the rhyming Latin lyric of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The historical discussion of the *Vagantes* has not been touched, neither has the author dealt with their place in literary history and in the development of satire and the secularising of the stage. It is a remarkable coincidence that when Miss Waddell's book came to us, we had in our possession, for revision, another study bearing a similar title, the work of a student at the Catholic University of America, which will shortly be published. This study differs materially from Miss Waddell's book, and will supplement it in many ways. Those who are interested in this entrancing phase of mediaeval life, before reading *The Wandering Scholars*, should read and digest Professor Haskin's latest contribution to mediaeval studies, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge) which will be reviewed in the next issue of the *Catholic Historical Review*.

Chartulary of Winchester Cathedral, edited in English, by A. W. Goodman, B.D., F.S.A. (Warren & Son, The Wykeham Press, Winchester, England) is a register of original documents, national, ecclesiastical, and local, dating from the time of Edgar down to that of Edward III, that period in which Winchester was, or had only ceased to be, the capital of England. It contains a number of items hitherto unpublished and the book contains a wealth of local information particularly for English readers; but its value rests in its abundant detail of the ecclesiastical happenings in England when monasticism occupied a large part in the social and political life of nation.

Autobiography of Joseph Scaliger, translated, with Introduction and Notes, by George W. Robinson (Harvard University Press, Cambridge) represents a gathering of material from Scaliger and his contemporaries with a view to limn the portrait of a man to whom is ascribed the primacy beyond all rivalry among scholars of modern times. The volume is both a monument to an important figure of the past and a tribute to scholarship.

Studien zum Schriftstellerkatalog des heiligen Hieronymus, von Alfred Feder, S. J. (Herder & Co., Freiburg im Brisgau) is a work which appeals directly to the critical ecclesiastical historian as Father Feder brings to this as to his other publications the keen incisiveness which characterizes his earlier works. This volume will be reviewed later by one who is quite familiar with the publications of the distinguished Jesuit scholar.

Nationalism at the Council of Constance (1414-1418), by Rev. George F. Powers, S.T.L., A.M. (Catholic University of America Press) is a profound study of the available documentary records of the Council of Constance and a

discussion of many important topics which have hitherto not received due consideration. It deals specifically with the nationalistic movement in Europe at the time in so far as the Council itself was brought into contact with that movement and affected by it. "The influence of nationalism at the Council of Constance (says the author) was sufficiently strong to nullify the effort to secure the adoption of the other proposals, so vital to the interests of religion, which formed part of the program for which the Council was called."

India's Past: A Survey of Her Literatures, Religions, Languages, and Antiquities, by A. A. Macdonell, Emeritus Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford (Oxford University Press, American Branch, New York) summarizes India's intellectual history, which in its many aspects has been the subject of the author's studies for more than half a century. It sets forth in nine chapters the mental development of the most easterly branch of Aryan civilization since it entered India by land until it came in contact with the most westerly branch of the same civilization after a separation of at least 3,000 years. Each chapter is furnished with a selected bibliography including works that supply further references.

The aim of the work is to serve as an up-to-date and trustworthy guide for both the general reader and the student.

Religions Past and Present, by Bertram C. A. Windle, M.A., M.D., Sc.D. (The Century Company, New York) is based on a course of public lectures given by the author under the auspices of the University of Toronto a few years ago. Hence, while it speaks with the authority of one of the most noted scholars of the day, it retains the informal, conversational quality which lectures to the general public must have. The author makes his position clear when he says that "he approaches his subject from the position of a firm and definite belief in Christianity as the final flower of religion and the revelation of God."

A valuable feature of the book is an extensive bibliography and a copious index. Those interested in the study of comparative religion will find the book very helpful as it bridges the chasm that lies between the tabloid knowledge of the casual reader and the specialized knowledge of the scholar.

Thoughts of a Catholic Anatomist, by Thomas Dwight, M.D., LL.D., with an Introduction by Dr. James J. Walsh (Longmans, Green and Co., New York) was written "not as a contribution to anatomical science but as an essay on the much discussed question of the relations of science and faith." We owe a debt to the author for this "profession of faith," for such it is; and the publishers did well to have the Foreword to this new edition written by one who knew the author intimately. Dr. Walsh says: "Many people are inclined to think that the epithet 'Catholic' and the substantive 'anatomist' do not go well together in a title. . . . For Professor Dwight, however, his Catholicism was so thoroughgoing and meant so much to him—more than any other interest that he had—that he thought of himself first and foremost as a Catholic in every relationship of existence and above all in all that concerned his intellectual life."

History of the United States, by Henry William Elson, A.M., Litt.D. (The Macmillan Company, New York) is a fifth edition of one of the most valuable texts with which we are familiar. The author tells us that in this new edition resembles the older; but he assures us that every chapter has been worked over. Chapter XIII on the framing of the Constitution has been rewritten. Chapter XVI on western migration and Chapter XXX on general progress following the Civil War are entirely new, and, of course, the closing chapters. The bibliographical notes at the end of each chapter and a selected general bibliography at the close of the volume are a valuable addition.

In the Heart of Spain, by Thomas Ewing Moore (The Universal Knowledge Foundation, New York) is a delightful volume dealing with Andalusia, the "Heart of Spain." Recently many books about Spain have been published, but *reliable* books in English are few. We have had a "psychoanalysis" of Spain and the Spanish people even which is the veriest accumulation of literary rubbish; yet, many who know nothing of the land of chivalry and romance accept the story as "charming." Few countries have suffered more than Spain from the repetitive scribe and the tourist scribbler; and those of us who know much of this land "where faith abides," whose artistic treasures are incomparable, feel grateful to Mr. Moore for a delightful surprise. He deals sympathetically and understandingly with Andalusia "the heart of Spain" and his most enthusiastic pages are given to Seville, "la Perla." The book has an air of authority and evidences a fullness of judgment which makes it of particular value. His long residence in Spain is the warranty for his keen observations. The deep faith of the Andalusians and the magnificence of its external manifestations are well described. He gives us a good account of Andalusian art and the abundant treasures of Seville which was the birthplace of Murillo, Velasquez Zurbárán, and Montañes. The book is an antidote to the deliberate sneerings and pathetic misunderstandings of many writers, notably English, who have written of Spain. Over fifty illustrations appear in this book of a country where "All is beautiful, all is varied, much is grand."

Those who are familiar with William Harper Bennett's *Catholic Footprints in Old New York* will thank him for his latest achievement, *Handbook to Catholic Historical New York City* (Schwartz, Kirwin, and Fauss, New York) which is fittingly dedicated to his friend, Thomas Francis Meehan, M.A., "whose lifework has been the rescuing from oblivion of the story of Catholic New York and who is most generous in assisting others with the results of his labor."

As an historic background of the descriptive sections, we have a narrative telling of the arrival of Verrazano, in 1524, the coming of Gomez, who named the North River the San Antonio, the visit of Jean Allefonce, who sailed through Long Island Sound, in 1542. Follows a list of Spanish and French prizes taken into New York during the wars between England, France, and Spain. Then is the story of the sailing into New York harbor in 1699 of *La Renomée* under command of the famous D'Iberville and the landing of the "Superior of the Jesuits," who was permitted by the Dutch governor to pass through the Dutch colony on his way to the missions.

In 1717, a ship bearing the papal flag and a pass from Benedict XIV was brought into the bay as a prize. The ship was released on the protest of William Pitt. In 1778 a French fleet, commanded by D'Estaing visited the lower harbor but could not proceed up the bay, and in 1783 Commodore John Barry, the founder of the American navy sailed into the harbor.

Mr. Bennett's new book is a very attractive little volume and it deserves a place in Catholic libraries beside his larger work, of which it is the complement.

The pontificate of Gregory VII, "the Golden Age of the Papacy," has been the subject of numerous publications, the latest being *Papauté et Pouvoir Civile à l'Epoque de Grégoire VII*, by Elie Voosen, J.C.D. (Imprimerie A. Duculot, Gembloux, Belgium). Bearing the imprimatur of the University of Louvain, it is, of course, scholarly and unquestionably orthodox. The questions discussed focalize in the problem: "Gregoire VII avait—il le droit d'excommunier Henri IV et de lui enlever sa couronne? Dans l'affirmative, la procedure suivie en 1076 et en 1080 fut—elle regulière? Par voie de consequence, à qui fallait—il obéir, au pape ou au roi?" This volume is of great value at the present time to students of the relations between Church and State; and the last chapter would help to dissipate the nebulous opinions current among a certain class of American editors, if it were available in an English translation.

The Social Catholic Movement in Great Britain, by Georgiana Putnam McEntee, Ph.D. (The Macmillan Company, New York), both in form and content bears much resemblance to Dr. Parker T. Moon's volume on a similar movement in France. The author indicates this in the Preface and even states that her work was "inspired" by Dr. Moon's study. Presumably this book is an elaborated dissertation; and as it was produced under the direction of Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes of Columbia, it bears evidence of thoroughness and accuracy. A review of this valuable contribution to the field of social history will appear later.

Self-Legislated Obligations, by John Grier Hibben (Harvard University Press, Cambridge) is a survey of the contemporary world by the President of Princeton University under two particular subjects, "Society and the Individual," and "The Nation and the Society of Nations." The topics were chosen "consonant with the general indication of the nature of the Godkin Foundation" which is that of "Free Government and the Duties of Citizenship." Professor Hibben's statements offer a stimulus to further reflection on one's attitude toward some of the vexing questions of our time. He advocates strongly that the United States should be adequately represented in the conferences and committees of the League of Nations and that the "observers" be removed from the side lines and given "a standing in the committees and Council of the League, which will put them on a plane of equality with their associates and enable them to be more helpful as counsellors; but at the same time to have their functions so safeguarded that they cannot commit our government to any foreign policy whatever."

Immigration Restriction, by Roy L. Garis (The Macmillan Company, New York) is in the mind of the writer of this note merely an amplified disquisition of immigration problems which have occupied the author for the past five years. Articles by Mr. Garis have appeared in several reviews and periodicals which seem to indicate a flair of Nordic mien. Hence much that this volume contains must be evaluated by the reader accordingly. It is rather significant that a Foreword to the volume is written by Mr. Albert Johnson, Chairman, Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., and contains the following: "Our capacity to maintain our cherished institutions stands diluted by a stream of alien blood, with all its inherited misconceptions respecting the relationships of the governing power to the governed."

The Making of Our United States, by R. O. Hughes (Allyn and Bacon, Boston) is based upon "the current belief that the best way to teach history is to organize it in outstanding units, blocks, or topics rather than to make it merely a year-by-year chronicle of things that happened." We are not quite sure that all teachers of history agree with what the author terms "current belief." The writer of this notice happens to be a teacher of history and is not in accord with the author's statement. Nevertheless this volume is a most attractive text, and it has a wealth of illustrative material which should prove helpful both to teacher and pupil.

The most sumptuous volume that has ever come to the office of THE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW is *L'Université de Louvain à travers Cinq Siècles: Etudes Historiques, publiées avec une Introduction*, par Léon van der Essen (Imprimerie A. Lesigne, Brussels). We hope to be able to devote considerable space to this unique specimen of the printer's art in our next issue.

The Indian Gold-Seeker, by H. S. Spalding, S.J. (Benziger Brothers. New York) is an excellent story. If we had such stories as this forty years ago Buffalo Bill might not have won his questionable renown in the popular dime novel of that period. In these pages, we see the red man roaming the Wyoming gold-fields, climbing the Rocky Mountains, and meeting with the usual adventurer from the East, who desires to get rich quickly at any cost to faith and morals. The self-sacrificing missionary is here too. Indeed his is no minor rôle in these pages, and he shows how the Church is ever on the trail of her wayward children, with her sacraments and her sacramentals, her prayer and her Sacrifice.

In such a setting, the story of course is bound to be thrilling, with its hair-breadth escapes and hazardous encounters. With these considerations, and noticing the attractive binding price, the book should find a place in most of our homes that are enlivened by healthy youth.

J. F. L.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception.—The secular press is devoting large space these days to "the supreme effort at cathedral building of the Catholics of North America." Recently some splendid articles have appeared. The following is from the *New York Times* (Sunday, September 11):

There is taking shape to-day in Washington, D. C., the supreme effort at cathedral building of the Catholics of North America. When completed it will be by far the largest Catholic edifice on the continent and one of the greatest of the world.

The National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception is rising on a sloping eminence in Brookland, the picturesque section of the national capital where the Catholic University of America is situated. The crypt is already finished, at a cost of more than $1,500,000, and work on the superstructure is to begin immediately. When finished within the next ten years the total cost of the cathedral will have been, it is estimated, between $15,000,000 and $20,000,000.

Bishop Thomas J. Shahan, rector of the Catholic University, has been the guiding spirit in the building of the cathedral. The Rev. Dr. Bernard A. McKenna is now national director of the shrine.

The basilica will have a length of 465 feet. Its main transept will be 238 feet wide. The dome, 90 feet in diameter, will tower up 258 feet, and the campanile or bell tower will rise 332 feet. The main nave will be 54 feet wide and the side naves 12 feet wide. The main floor will accommodate more than 7,000 people. The general style of architecture is Romanesque.

As an indication of the size of the edifice it may be pointed out that the sanctuary will comfortably accommodate the entire membership of the American hierarchy and, in addition, several hundred priests. The crypt, which will seat 1,800 persons, is now used for ordinations and other high Church ceremonies. Mass is held there every Sunday morning. The arch of the crypt is built to support the floor of the basilica and the main altar and is said to be the largest masonry arch in the world. Capable of sustaining a weight of 1,000,000 pounds, it has four great arms, each 54 feet long. The ceilings are of rich Gustavino tile with mosaic inserts, and the groinings of the arches above the altar are covered with symbols of the earliest Christian doctrines, in gilt and colored ceramic.

In the crypt are fifteen chapels, with a main altar, all of pure Algerian onyx. About the sides there are grouped many marble columns, gathered from all parts of the world. Almost every known variety of marble is represented—black, red, brown, yellow. Of particular beauty is a column of pure Mexican onyx, one of the finest specimens in the world.

Eight granite columns, weighing ten tons each, support the vault of the crypt. Their capitals weigh three tons each and the plinths two. Four of these great columns are mahogany granite from South Dakota, and four are blue-black Norway granite—a granite seldom if ever before turned into columns. Six other columns are of rich Irish rose from quarries in County Cork. The wainscoting, running around the entire crypt at a height of ten feet from the floor,

is of mouse-colored marble from the St. Genevieve quarries in Missouri and is sprayed with gold.

The crypt is lighted by fifteen lunette windows of stained glass, each window bearing two slender figures of the Prophets of the Old Testament, together with many of the Apostles, Evangelists and early Fathers of the Church. These windows in color and design rank among the finest specimens of modern pictorial glass.

The marble floor is divided into twenty-three sections of varying dimensions. The first three sections, the portions before the predelles of the altars of the three apses, contain 416 pieces of marble each, giving a total of 1,248 pieces. Outside this area, around the main altar and extending to the end of the crypt, are 2,000 marble tiles, each weighing seventy-five pounds; 5,000 feet of marble mosaic, composed of about twenty different kinds of marble; 2,000 feet of four-inch marble border; 2,000 feet of three-inch cottage marble border, and, finally, 1,000 feet of ten-inch cottage marble.

This vast space resembles in appearance a gorgeous carpet. The fifty-six squares of marble, averaging one foot ten and one-half inches long, and thirty-five round pieces, each about two feet eight inches in diameter, produce a striking effect, the variety of colors harmonizing beautifully—the Cipolino marble from Switzerland, the Red Levanto from Italy, the Tinos from Greece, the Verde Antico from Vermont, the Irish Rose, and the Connemara Green from Ireland, the Monte Verde Oriental from South America, the Griotte from France, the Red Numidian from Northern Africa.

Opening from corridors that lead, on either side, from the open into the great vestibule of the crypt are four smaller halls, each about forty feet square and seventeen feet in height, for pilgrims and visitors. These halls are fitted up as a reception room, a writing and rest room, a sodality chapel for confessionals, an office for objects of art and devotion, and a library.

The crypt itself lacks only the great organ and the beautiful sacristy which will make it in itself a veritable cathedral. The ceramic work of the Guastavino ceiling, largely illustrative of the Roman catacombs, is completed; the fifteen altars of Algerian marble are in place; and the rich and varied gilt ceramic decorations of the corresponding chapels are finished.

In the western apse are figures in plaque, in stained glass and in mosaic—the great historical and theological figures of the Old Testament. On the ceiling of the apse the four plaques portray different scenes in the life of Christ.

Three Popes have given their commendation to the cathedral. A striking embellishment in the basilica, a gift from Pope Pius XI, will be a mosaic reproduction of Murillo's "Immaculate Conception." It is really the gift of two Popes, for Benedict XV had promised to bestow on the crypt a mosaic, but died before it could be executed. Voluntarily Pope Pius XI took over the promise of his predecessor.

The painting which is to be wrought into the mosaic is the one that now hangs in the Prado Gallery, at Madrid. Count Muccioli, the director of the Vatican Mosaic Studio in Rome, has just completed the cartoons that will serve as models for the painting in oils from which the mosaics will be reproduced.

The picture chosen is generally conceded by artists to be the Spanish master's greatest work.

The cathedral's cornerstone was laid in September, 1920, in the presence of Cardinals Gibbons and O'Connell, 70 Archbishops and Bishops, 200 priests and about 10,000 laity.

A Schola Cantorum at the Catholic University of America.—With the opening of the new scholastic year a Schola Cantorum—the first of its kind in the United States—is being established at the Catholic University of America.

Rev. Dr. William J. DesLongchamps, professor of Music at the Catholic University of America, will be at the head of the schola, which is to be formed by combining the music departments of the university and the Catholic Sisters College. The schola is to be housed in the home of the late Very Rev. Dr. Thomas E. Shields in Brookland, near the university campus.

Conrad Bernier, a pupil of Joseph Bonnet, the famous organist of Paris, has been added to the staff.

M. Bernier, whose musical studies were made in France, comes from a distinguished musical family. His father is one of the best known Canadian organists. He is a graduate of the school formerly directed by the celebrated Guilmant, the co-founder with Paul Marie Indy and Charles Bordes of the famed Schola Cantorum of France.

The curriculum of the Schola will include a complete course in Gregorian Chant, a complete course in the Ward System, which is to be taught under the personal supervision of Mrs. Justine Ward; a complete course in harmony, counter point, composition, etc., instrumental music, especially the organ and piano; vocal culture, choir training in strictly liturgical music and training of boys' voices.

The children of St. Anthony's School, where the complete Ward System is already taught; of St. Joseph's Home for Boys, and of St. Martin's School will be available for practical work in the vocal courses, such as choir training. Moreover, the students of the Schola will be free to inspect St. Anthony's Model School, and witness the practical application of the Ward System.

The Schola Cantorum will be open to students of the Catholic University and of the Catholic Sisters College, and to choirmasters and students of music in the city of Washington and elsewhere.

Bishop Shahan, Very Rev. Dr. Patrick Joseph McCormick, Dean of Sisters College, and Dr. DesLongchamps collaborated in the development of the plans for the Schola.

It is noteworthy that Dr. Shields planned that his house, which is of ample size and well-fitted for the purpose, should become a conservatory of music, particularly for the training of teaching Sisters, organists and choirmasters.

It is a remarkable coincidence that the Catholic University of America should initiate this new movement on the fourth centenary of the formal introduction of the teaching of music into America by the Belgian Franciscan brother, Pedro de Gante, who had studied at Louvain where music formed part of the curriculum. Ecclesiastical chant was taught in the great mediæval institutions,

and the professorship of theoretical and practical music as Salamanca dates from 1252. The old teachers were perhaps better equipped than the modern music master. The construction of musical instruments destined for service in the church was carried on; the precentor chanter, or choirmaster, was expected to be able to make all necessary repairs to the organ. It is generally assumed that when the teaching of ecclesiastical music was introduced in America that the instruments used were imported from Spain. We have the authority of Mendieta for the statement that the instruments were made by natives, supervised by Spanish teachers. Organs were built in the music school of Pedro de Gante as early as 1527. Further we are told that all of the Churches in the early Spanish missions served by priests had organs, which were played by the natives after instruction in the school. For use outside of the church they made use of the rebec, guitar, harp, and monochord.

A Neglected Study.—We cordially endorse the views expressed by the *Register-Extension* regarding the need of a course of Latin-American history in our colleges.

In the recent report of a committee which, at the instance of the Pan-American Union, has been investigating the teaching of Latin-American history in the colleges and universities of the United States, there is evidence that North American institutions of higher education have been neglecting this branch of historical study. "In a large number of colleges and universities Latin American history has not yet been given a place commensurate with its importance," says the committee, and they add: "In some leading educational institutions it has not been accorded a place at all."

The effort of this committee—or of any other—to encourage the inclusion of Latin-American history in the curricula of these institutions is a significant and welcome departure. If the people of the United States had a better knowledge of the historical background of the events and conditions which they are witnessing in Mexico to-day their attitude to the Calles regime on the one hand and to the Catholic Church on the other hand, would be very different than it is. In all his acts of oppression and outrage, Calles has had immunity and support on this side of the border because in part Protestant prejudice against the Catholic Church and in part popular ignorance of the origins and merits of the "Mexican question" have pretended the making either of an intelligent public opinion or a sound official policy with respect to the duties and responsibilities of the American Government towards an unruly neighbor. Calles' pretence that he is attempting to free the State from the domination of the Church and championing liberty, education and progress are received as truth by thousands of Protestants because they are without knowledge of even the recent history of Mexico and of the tyrannies that one after another have adopted the same pretext for the same purpose.

It is to be hoped that the historiographers who undertake to supply new texts for Protestant colleges and universities will heed the recommendation made to the committee by the spokesmen of two of the universities questioned. These urged that "text-writers should show a better understanding of Catholic institutions and viewpoints." Acquaintance with the teachings, practices and

agencies of the Catholic Church is indispensable to the writing of accurate history of a nation whose laws, customs and institutions are founded on hers. Moreover, such an acquaintance improves international relations while it makes for good history.

Significant Utterances.—*The Providence Visitor*, September 16, says under the caption "The President and Education":

During the opening week of the schools of the country several significant utterances bearing on education were reported in the press. Roger Babson, the eminent economic expert, ventures the opinion "there is to-day in the United States an excess of everything except religion." The Rev. Dr. J. Gresham Machen, assistant professor of New Testament Literature and Exegesis in Princeton Theological Seminary, held, in a sermon preached last Sunday in the Broadway Presbyterian Church, that "Christian education is the great need of the hour." With the suggestion that there should be distinct Christian schools for Christian children he said he was in full sympathy. "At any rate," he further declared, "if we believe in American liberty we should certainly protect parents in their right to educate their children in accordance with the dictates of their consciences."

But perhaps the most important utterance of all was that of President Coolidge at Brookings, S.D., on September 10, at the dedication of the Lincoln Memorial Library of South Dakota State College, when he stopped on his way eastward from his vacation in the Black Hills. While training in the practical arts meant a great deal to American progress the need of a more spiritual and moral outlook on life should not be forgotten the President told his hearers.

Here is a part of the President's address:

"All our science and art will never produce a worthy and lasting civilization unless we are able to see in them the outward manifestation of a spiritual reality.

"Unless our halls of learning are real temples which are to be approached by our youth in an attitude of reverence, consecrated by worship of the truth, they will all end in a delusion. The information that is acquired in them will simply provide a greater capacity for evil. Our institutions of learning must be dedicated to a higher purpose. The life of our nation must rise to a higher realm.

"There is something more in learning and something more in life than a mere knowledge of science, a mere acquisition of wealth, a mere striving for place and power. Our colleges will fail in their duty to their students unless they are able to inspire them with a broader understanding of the spiritual meaning of science, of literature and of the arts. Their graduates will go out into life poorly equipped to meet the problems of existence, to fall an easy prey to dissatisfaction and despair. Many of our older universities were founded by pious hands at great sacrifice for the express purpose of training men for the ministry to carry light to the people on the problems of life. Unless our college graduates are inspired with these ideals, our colleges have failed in their most important function and our people will be lacking in true culture. Abraham Lincoln, who was the most spiritual of our Presidents, had a true appreciation of this principle."

These words of President Coolidge are an endorsement of the Catholic educational system of our country. All of the more than two million attendants at Catholic colleges and schools are continually under an influence that, as the President says, inspires them with a broader understanding of the spiritual meaning of science, of literature and of the arts.

"Louvain's Five Hundred Glorious Years."—Mid the stately pomp and splendor of mediaeval color Louvain observed on June 28-29 its quincentenary; and seldom has such a brilliant gathering assembled as that which assiated at the celebration.

King Albert and his Queen, with Ministers of the Government, came to pay their homage. Cardinal Van Roey, Primate of Belgium and Legate of the Pope; the Primates of England and Ireland, and eminent members of the Hierarchy of France took part.

From 188 great universities and institutes in both hemispheres came official delegates bearing the tribute of learning, the world over.

Fully two score of eminent Americans were present, among them Very Rev. Dr. P. J. McCormick, representing the Catholic University of America. Several representatives of non-Catholic universities attended, among them the heads of Columbia, Johns Hopkins and Pennsylvania universities and an officer of the Library of Congress of the United States.

In another sense, America had a prominent part in the ceremonies. One of the spots visited by the assembled delegates was that where the new Louvain Library, the gift of the American nation, is rearing its walls, replacing the old library destroyed in the World War. Here American recognition of the universality of knowledge and American generosity were praised.

Again the ceremonies were made memorable for America by the conferring of the proud Louvain Degree Doctor of Theology upon three members of the American Hierarchy, His Grace, Archbishop Austin Dowling of St. Paul, and their Lordships, Bishop John J. Lawlor of Lead, S. D., and Bishop J. G. Murray of Portland, Me.

So numerous were the representatives of the learned world from everywhere, that the University authorities felt compelled to limit those taking part in the ceremonies.

Louvain is comparatively small—its population is only 40,000—and there is no hall large enough for a large assembly.

Features of the great program, which spread over two days, comprised an academic assembly in the Aula Magna of the University, which seats, alas, only 800; a Pontifical High Mass followed by the coronation, in the Holy Father's name, of a statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary, venerated for centuries by the University under the title "Seat of Wisdom"; the reopening of the sacked library, to serve henceforth as an art and archeological museum; a grand banquet; the inauguration of three new university institutions; and a visit to the principal of the forty-odd edifices serving the scientific purposes of the great Catholic seat of learning in Belgium.

At the academic session King Albert and his Queen; Cardinal Van Roey, his suffragans, and the Right Rev. Rector of the University, Monsignor Ladeuze, presided over an assembly more picturesque than the imagination can conjure.

Cardinals and monsignori in their official robes, uniformed and gowned scholars from the earth's great scientific institutions, Belgium's official world of diplomats, ministers, Senators, Governors, Army Officers and Magistrates thronged the amphi-theatre.

Silver trumpets announced the arrival of the sovereigns, and a military band played "Brabançonne."

All the great universities represented were announced by heralds, and the representative of each advanced and presented his address.

Then were proclaimed the names—more than a hundred—of those whom the University wished to honor with the title Doctor, honoris causa, of one or the other of its faculties.

Thus was the Queen of Belgium presented with the degree Doctor of Medicine. Before her marriage, Her Majesty assisted her father, Prince Theodore of Bavaria, renowned oculist, in his ophthalmic clinic of Munich, and she has always manifested great interest in medical science. Upon King Albert was bestowed the title Doctor of Social and Political Sciences.

Dr. Guilday tells the story of the great seat of learning in the following article contributed to the N. C. W. C. *Bulletin*:

Five hundred years have passed since Pope Martin V issued the decree establishing the famous University Louvain. From the year of its pontifical foundation to the present time, the history of Louvain is like a great scroll filled with the names of men of renown in all branches of learning and with splendid deeds done for Church and State.

A mere catalogue of Louvain's glories from that far off time when its lectures began in the autumn of 1426 to those fearful days in August, 1914, when its courage revealed to the world its incomparable soul, would present an astounding number of scholars whose influence in science and culture has been world-wide in extent.

The Theological School of Louvain was but a year old when its professors declared that their allegiance to the Holy See would prevent any participation in the Council of Basle (1431), since it was known that decrees were to be passed there infringing the supremacy of the Pope over the general councils of the Church.

It was among the Louvain scholars in those early years of the 15th century that devotion to the recitation of the Rosary took its rise; and from Louvain also that the devotion to the Way of the Cross spread over Europe. It was the theologians of Louvain who first detected the errors in Luther's teachings and who publicly condemned the heresiarch a year before his excommunication by Leo X (1520). In the orthodoxy of Louvain, Luther always recognized the strongest barrier to his heretical teachings; and no reputable American newspaper would have the courage to print to-day the letters Luther sent to the University of Louvain between this time and his death in 1546. Louvain stood like a solitary lighthouse of the faith on the high road between England and Germany during those years when the floodgates of bitterness and hatred were being loosed

upon the Holy See. Twenty years before the Council of Trent had assembled, the Louvain theologians published a summary of Catholic doctrine which exercised a profound influence upon the Fathers of the great Council.

From the days of Trent to our own, the University of Louvain has stood before the world as the acknowledged champion of Catholic faith and as the fruitful source of all those democratic institutions that have kept the spirit of Belgium true to its high ideals of political liberty and national patriotism.

When King Albert made his immortal stand before the advancing hosts of his country's enemies, no one who knew Belgium was in doubt over the final outcome. Behind the King were his ministers, for the most part graduates and former professors of Louvain; and behind the government stood the leaders of the people, the great number of whom had come forth from Louvain with hearts tempered like steel in their love of liberty and in their unconquerable patriotism. Everywhere, in both the Flemish and Walloon provinces, the priests who won martyrdom during those four indescribably tragic years, came for the most part from Louvain itself or from seminaries whose teachers were Louvain graduates. It was more than a mere accident of war that brought to Louvain, of all the cities in Belgium, the keenest burden of Belgium's sorrow.

The University has never lacked loyal sons to tell her life-story over and over again. From the days when John Molanus, who was rector magnificus in 1578, wrote his "Historia Lovaniensis" to the publication of the classic "Description" by Justus Lipsius, a half century later, and to the histories of Vandervelde, of Baron de Reiffenberg, of Van Even, and especially that of Monsignor de Ram, the illustrious first rector magnificus of the restored University (1834), a large collection of works have been edited and published, throwing much valuable light upon the important part played by the University in the political and intellectual development of modern Europe.

At the commencement of the fifteenth century, no school for higher learning existed in the whole stretch of territory occupied at present by modern Belgium and Holland. Schools for the humanities had been established alongside the cathedral churches, in religious convents and in the houses of the Hieronymites or Brothers of the Common Life; but for advanced studies in philosophy, theology, law and medicine, students from the Low Countries were obliged to go to Cologne, Erfurt and Paris. Cologne and Paris especially drew large contingents of Belgian youths to their academic halls. The renewal of the war between England and France in 1433 and the desolate conditions of the French provinces under Charles VII in the years preceding the heroic assistance of Saint Joan of Arc, made access to Paris impossible to the Belgians. The counsellors of the young Duke of Brabant, John IV, conceived the plan of erecting a University in Belgium itself, in order to accommodate the ever-increasing number of students. In compliance with their worthy request, the Duke sent one William Neeffs, who had gained his doctorate at Cologne and who afterwards became the first rector magnificus of Louvain, as envoy to the Pope in the name of all those interested in the foundation of the new University. His mission was successful, and on April 26, 1426, after a journey which at the time took nearly two hundred days, Neeffs arrived in Louvain with the precious bull of erection, dated December 9 of the previous year. It is interesting to note in passing that this valuable docu-

ment, which had been lost to sight for several centuries, was found in 1909 in the archives of the Seminary of Haarlem and was returned to the University of Louvain through the generosity of the Bishop of Bois-le-Duc.

The Halles built in 1317 by the drapers' guild was placed at the disposal of the University, and on October 20, 1426, the courses were solemnly opened by Duke John IV, with four major faculties—art, medicine, civil law and canon law. Theology was not begun till 1431, when Pope Eugene IV instituted the fifth faculty and made the University complete. The Halles, to which a second story was added in 1680, were substantially the same up to their destruction in 1914, as they were nearly five centuries ago, and in them were located, up to the war, the principal lecture halls of the University. From 1425 to 1500, the young University gradually increased the number of the subordinate faculties or schools, while the students and professors grew to a total of from six to eight thousand. Some of the earliest printing presses were set up around it, such as that of John of Westphalia, who first printed Juvenal and Cicero at Louvain in 1474, and that of Thierry Martens, the Aldus of the Low Countries, whose influence both as a printer and a scholar was unique in Belgium at the beginning of the sixteenth century. It was then that a period of the highest prosperity commenced at the University.

Among those whose names are linked inseparably with the University in its golden age are Erasmus, who wrote, in the days of his friendship with Louvain, that the splendor of its learning and culture exceeded every other university in the world except Paris, Justus Lipsius, acknowledged in intellectual circles as one of the most learned men of his time; Florentinus, who gained his degree in Louvain in 1491, and afterwards became Pope, under the name of Adrian VI, and the illustrious pupil of Adrian, the young Prince Charles of Spain, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, who made his studies in Louvain.

The growth of the so-called Reformation disturbed the peace of the University. It threw its professors into the unhappy confusion of the times, not alone on account of their noble defense of the faith against Luther, but also on account of the theological controversies which began shortly afterwards between Michael Baius and the saintly Jesuit Lessius, and which continued down to the days of Jansenius, who was a professor in the faculty of theology.

After the passing of the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity in England (1559), Louvain became a place of refuge for all the leading English, Irish and Scotch exiles, who sought in Belgium the freedom of conscience denied them at home. During Elizabeth's reign, Louvain was crowded with the professors and students of Oxford and Cambridge. The English Catholic exiles began two colleges in the town, which they called "Oxford" and "Cambridge," and here the students were housed until the foundation of the English College at Douay (1569). It was to Louvain that the fleeing remnants of the religious orders of England came, and it was there that William Cardinal Allen, the Moses of the English Catholic diaspora, continued his studies and received his doctorate. Louvain is also the cradle of the present English Jesuit province, and it was in her halls that the clergy of Ireland was educated up to the reign of James II. It was there also that the counter-Reformation found its strongest and bravest exemplars, and there also that the English School of Apologetics, which gathered

around the last two Bishops of the old English hierarchy, published that splendid series of volumes which did more to stem the tide of Protestantism in England than all the threats of Philip II and the Armadas. Relics of the Irish and the English exiles abound in the city, and even up to the present time the English Dominicans possess two free burses founded by Cardinal Howard in the faculty of theology. The recent restoration to the Irish Franciscans of their old College of St. Anthony has reawakened interest in this part of Louvain's history.

No one did more for the persecuted English and Irish Catholic exiles of the time than the Archdukes Albert and Isabella, under whose personal direction the influence of Louvain increased to such an extent that it may fairly be claimed to have possessed at this period of its history the most flourishing place among the universities of the world.

The constant encroachment of the Austrian civil power upon the intellectual and religious life of the University during the eighteenth century arrested the intellectual progress of former years; and though we find among its professors such eminent scholars as Heuschling, Rega, Vanheyen, and Minckelers, nevertheless the usurpation of the Church's sphere by the "royal sacristan," Joseph II, was fatal to the advancement of the University and was but a prelude to its subsequent suppression. The gallant stand maintained by Cardinal Frankenberg, Archbishop of Malines, in 1789 against the innovations which the Austrian Emperor endeavored to introduce into the theological faculty and the noble efforts of Francis II, who undertook to reëstablish the University on its ancient basis, brought new life to Louvain for a time; but the unsettled condition of Belgium during the French Revolution practically ended all academic studies in its halls. In 1795 the rector magnificus and the professors were ordered to attend in a body the opening of a Temple of Reason in the lovely Renaissance Church of St. Michael, where the sacrilege of Notre Dame was repeated. The response of the University was well worthy of its glorious past and was an echo of over three centuries of filial allegiance to the Mother Church: "We recognize no other legitimate or salutary worship except that which our Saviour, Jesus Christ, True God and True Man, has deigned to reveal to us and which his church—the Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church—recognizes; consequently, our conscience will never permit us to take part, either directly or indirectly, in the worship to be established."

This noble reply caused the official suppression of the University, and on October 20, 1797, the doors were closed to the students. The professors were dispersed and forbidden to teach; the riches of the University were confiscated for civic purposes, and its forty-three colleges turned over to the infidel government then in power.

After the fall of Napoleon in 1815, several of the professors attempted to reconstruct the old faculties, but they were unsuccessful until 1830, when Belgium gained her independence from Holland; and in 1834 a Papal Brief from Pope Gregory XVI gave the old schools of Louvain their former privileges and honors. The new University took up its quarters in the places made famous by the great men of bygone splendor and renown—in the Halles, in the College of Pope Adrian VI and in the College of the Holy Ghost, with Monsignor De Ram as first rector magnificus. During the ninety-odd years which have passed since

the solemn re-opening of the University, Louvain has had an abundant share in the scientific program of the nineteenth century. The corps of professors has numbered scholars and men of erudition who are revered as much by Belgium as by the rest of the world. Among these may be mentioned: the celebrated biologist Carnoy; the orientalist De Harlez; the neurologist Ban Gehuchten; the famous chemist Louis Henry; the historian Alfred Cauchie; Conon David, the father of modern Flemish literature; Lanny, the exegete; Abbiloos, Hebbelynck, Van Hoonacker, Forget, Ladeuze, Lebon, DeBecker, De Wulf, and many others. Under the enthusistic direction of these scholars, Louvain has become a recognized center for all intellectual studies.

The history of the different colleges which have formed the strength of Louvain comprises a theme too important and lengthy to be dealt with in this article.

One college, however, should be mentioned, since it is of constant interest to Catholics in the United States—the American College of Louvain which was founded in 1857, two years before its sister institution, the North American College of Rome. The American College of Louvain was established for the double purpose of affording a residence for American priests who wished to follow graduate studies in the University and for self-sacrificing young men of other countries who wished to volunteer for the American missions. Over a score of American bishops have been educated at Louvain and the list of the priests ordained there for the dioceses of the United States now numbers almost one thousand.

The recent appointment of the Very Reverend Louis Smet, D.D., former pastor of St. Mary's Church, Alexandria, Va., as Vice-Rector of the American College, has met with heartfelt approval by all the American alumni.

Such in a few words, incomplete in themselves and giving merely an outline of the history of the pride of the Catholic Belgium, is the story of Louvain's great University.

Five centuries have passed since the commencement of the academic lectures in the old Halles. The University has enjoyed a glorious period of success during that time and has nobly withstood many crises with its ancient motto: "La Foi et la Science," still unblemished in the rapid flight of time.

The Vatican Library.—We are indebted to the N. C. W. C. *Bulletin* for the following:

From the earliest times, the Roman Pontiffs kept for the official use of the Church such documents as letters received from sovereigns, patriarchs and Bishops, acts of the Councils, etc. Even now the Vatican Archives contain some charters of the Carolingian princes and letters on purple vellum issued by Byzantine emperors. But the greater part of the most ancient of the books and documents belonging to the Popes were destroyed by fire in one of the bloody conflicts between the principal Roman families in the beginning of the Middle Ages.

These were very difficult times for the Papacy; nevertheless documents and books were collected again and put with the Pope's Treasure in the vaults of the Lateran Palace. An old inventory in a precious book written about the year 1295

on vellum and preserved in the Vatican Archives records, after cataloguing altar dresses and chalices, gold rings and silver plate, rugs and carpets of various origin—even after the kitchen paraphernalia—a good many books, not only of Holy Scripture and Liturgy, but also of Theology, Civil and Canon Law, Medicine and Music. Four hundred and forty-three entries are numbered in this first known catalogue of the Papal Library.

But the Popes were obliged to leave the Eternal City for a long stretch of years. Their treasure was in the course of the fourteenth century transferred to various places in Italy and thereafter to Avignon, in the southeast of France. These transfers gave occasion to various inventories, in which the books are described very carefully by the title and the first words of the second page, with information about the bindings, as "in red" (skin), "in green," "in purple velvet," etc., are given.

Even when the Papacy was definitely settled again in Rome by Martin V (1417) the Archives and the Library remained in the secure fortress which the Popes had built near the Rhone. But it was not possible to leave there the registers of the Chancery, so they came back by piecemeal to Rome and were concentrated in the Castle Sant' Angelo. It was only during the eighteenth century that the documents of the Papal Archives were transferred from Avignon to the Vatican. The Library never came back as a whole. The books taken from Rome to Assisi and Avignon and those which the Popes acquired there were scattered. Only in 1891 was the Vatican Library able to recover nearly three hundred of them, when Leo XIII purchased the Borghese manuscripts.

Now, the Renaissance gave a great impetus to classical studies, both Latin and Greek. The Popes of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were enthusiastic protectors of the humanist movement. In planning the new Pontifical Palace on the Vatican Hill, Nicholas V destined a suite of four rooms for the Library. These rooms are to-day mere shops for the repair of the furniture under the famous Borgia Apartment, but the magnificent fresco by Melo zo de Forli, which decorated the principal room, was transferred to the Vatican Pinacotheca and is one of its most beautiful paintings.

Of course, these rooms received the manuscripts that the Popes collected from various quarters, sending the most famous scholars of the time to the monasteries in Italy and elsewhere to buy or copy the works of the classical authors, acquiring also many of the Greek manuscripts brought westward by the Byzantine scholars, who fled from the Turkish armies. To these rooms also came the first printed books which took their place amongst the manuscripts, according to their contents, as the inventors of printing intended only to produce by mechanical means books which should be as similar as possible to those produced by hand-writing.

But the new invention changed radically the conditions of the libraries. Thousands and thousands of books came from the printing presses. The four rooms of Nicholas V were no longer sufficient. Sixtus V possessed decision of mind and was an indefatigable builder; he gave up the magnificence of the splendid court between the old Pontifical Apartment and the Velvedere, and cut this famous perspective known as Bramante's Theater by the huge building which now is called "Bracchio Vecchio." The wide two-naved hall in the third floor was

decorated in frescoes portraying the history of the Libraries and the Councils, with the portraits of the inventors of the alphabets and the pictures of some important events in the Pontificate of the new Pope. The building was finished in 1588.

The room, now an exhibition gallery containing gifts of sovereigns to the Popes and some important manuscripts, was furnished with seven sets of twenty-eight desks, where manuscripts and printed books were distributed according to the matter. Nearly twenty years later, by order of Paul V, the Library left all the official documents of the Roman Church to a new institution, the Vatican Secret Archives, but the number of books, both printed and handwritten, increased so greatly that by degrees the Library occupied all the big corridor in the building of Pius IV under the galleries of the tapestries and of the geographical maps. The manuscripts remained until 1912 in the wooden cupboards which are to be seen even now along the walls in all the parts of the Library open to tourists.

The Vatican Library has had since 1912 a large reading room for the use of the manuscripts, with good accommodation for fifty readers, made in the former Hall of the Sistine printing office. The manuscripts are kept just above in a fireproof three-storied stack with steel furniture, communicating by means of a booklift with the rear of the reading room.

Between the reading room and the Archives, under the Sistine Hall, is the reference room with its 50,000 volumes, open to the readers both of the Archives and the Library. This reference room, created by the genius of Leo XIII and the careful competence of Father Franz Ehrle, now Cardinal Ehrle, is intended to shelter the best editions of ancient texts and the most important historical collections, with the proceedings of historical and philological societies, in order to provide for the readers engaged in research work with the manuscripts of the Library or the documents of the Archives, the most necessary books. Limited to this purpose, the reference room is one of the best, perhaps the best of all scholarly reference rooms, although since the war it has been impossible to obtain sufficient appropriations for the maintaining of all the series.

The printed books are stored in the cupboards of the galleries and various rooms, more or less distant from the reading rooms. The fitting up of a main stack with steel furniture, though contemplated for many years, has been delayed until now by the magnitude of its cost.

The principal riches of the Vatican Library lie in its manuscripts, the number of which now exceeds 60,000. Most of them were purchased by the Popes, others are the gifts of sovereigns or private donors. The most important of the collections presented to the Vatican Library retain the names of their former owners. The books coming singularly or in small lots are put in the main collection, being divided, according to the languages, in Vatican Latin manuscripts, Vatican Greek manuscripts, Vatican Hebrew manuscripts, Vatican Arabic manuscripts, and so on.

The special collections are many. The Palatine was gathered in Heidelberg by the Elector of Bavaria and presented to Gregory XV (1622); the manuscripts of Christine, Queen of Sweden, who took refuge at the Pope's court, remained there (1690); the manuscripts of the Dukes of Urbino, especially valuable for their illuminations, were bought in 1658; all the Capponi collection—manuscripts

and printed books, many of them on the history of fine arts—was purchased in 1745. Three libraries of princely Roman families brought to the Vatican Library very important accessions; the Barberini collection (1902), 10,000 Latin manuscripts and a great mass of archives, 500 Greek manuscripts and 150 Oriental, with 35,000 printed books; the Borghese collection, about 300 manuscripts of scholastic philosophy and theology; the Chigi Library (1923), more than 3,000 manuscripts and 30,000 printed books. Lastly, there were added the Rossiana Library (1922), with 1,600 manuscripts, 2,300 incunabula, 4,500 volumes of old editions, and library of the Marquis Ferrajoli (1926), with 1,400 manuscripts and about 40,000 volumes, a good proportion of them in English.

The Vatican manuscripts cover the whole field of human knowledge. Amongst the most ancient manuscripts appear four sheets of a Vergil, a square foot in size, written in a beautiful epigraphic capital before the end of the second century. Two other manuscripts of Vergil, one with many valuable paintings by pagan artists, the other without illuminations, both written in a narrow capital, are of the fourth century. Of the same period is a fine copy of some comedies of Terentius with marginal annotations in a cursive hand of the sixth century. Another Terentius, written in the ninth or tenth century, is remarkable for a lot of paintings showing the actors wearing masks as they did on the stage in ancient times. These pictures were not imagined by the monk who copied the manuscript, but were exactly reproduced from originals of the fourth century painted by some pagan artist in the same epoch in which the miniatures on the Vergil fragment were painted.

A manuscript of the Greek Bible, nearly complete, known as the Vaticanus by the way of eminence, was splendidly written in the fourth century, and remains, notwithstanding the discovery of important fragments of the third century on papyrus, the most ancient manuscript of the entire Bible in any language. It is a curious fact that the ink having faded away by the ninth century, a scribe rewrote all the book with some minor changes of his own, hoping thereby to supply a better text. The Library possesses also some sheets of a Gospel written in silver ink on purple parchment, with the divine names in gold. A roll of the sixth century contains the book of Joshua in Greek with fine Byzantine illuminations in a good natural style and with plenty of life.

All the manuscripts in the Vatican Library are available to scholars of every nation, of every denomination. Only a letter of introduction from some official personage is required for the admittance of readers who are not identified as university men by the current directories, and every effort is made by the Prefect of the Library to facilitate the researches of the scholars visiting the Library. A great number of manuscripts are described only in the hand-written catalogues compiled continuously following the accessions from the seventeenth century, but the preparation of printed complete catalogues is being carried on by eight curators, of whom there are at present five for the Latin manuscripts, two for the Greek, and one for the Oriental. Thus far thirteen volumes have been published and three are in the press.

Moreover, it is easy to obtain photographs of manuscripts or printed books in the Library, by application of the Librarian or Prefect, Monsignor Giovanni

Mercati. More than 30,000 pages were photographed last year for applicants everywhere.

The Vatican Library, so rich in old manuscripts, has devoted special attention to the preservation of damaged manuscripts. Father Ehrle invited the librarians of all the principal libraries to a conference in St. Gall (Switzerland) as early as 1890 in order to study the best means of preservation and repair. The principal causes of destruction are the dampness on both parchment and paper and corrosion due to ill-prepared ink. The crumbling parchment is well reinforced by gelatine, meanwhile the written paper is covered by an extremely thin silken tissue, or crepe-line, which leaves the writing perfectly in view.

Six highly specialized men are continuously employed in the repair sections of the Vatican Library, working for both the Library and the Archives. As a special exception, the administration of the Library undertook the repair of the Coptic manuscripts of Mr. J. P. Morgan, owing to their importance and to the difficulty of the work, which required men particularly well acquainted with the handling of parchment.

The manuscripts hold so prominent a place amongst the treasures of the Vatican Library that other important items are often forgotten. Of course, the Library possesses more than 6,500 incunabula, i. e., books printed before 1500 A. D. The collection is especially valuable in Italian editions, but contains also a fine copy on vellum of the famous 42-line Bible and another incomplete copy of the same book on paper.

Many are the books printed on vellum in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; for example, a splendid copy of the New Testament in Ethiopic, prepared by the Abyssinian Catholic monks of St. Stephen's monastery behind St. Peter's Basilica (1548).

Besides the 50,000 volumes of the reference room, the Library has about 350,000 printed volumes. The number is not of the biggest, but the quality of certain sections is very high. This is true of the printed books belonging to the Palatina, which are nearly all described in a printed catalogue in four volumes. (The fifth volume and indexes are in preparation), and also the Prima Raccolta, i. e., books entered in the Vatican Library before 1690. The copies of the Aldine editions are pretty numerous, and even the section of Medicine is not contemptible with 15,000 items and dating 1850 and many old pamphlets.

In the course of centuries, the Popes have deposited in their Library not only books, but also many worthy objects of another kind received as, for example, the gifts from sovereigns, which are exhibited in the Sistine Hall. And so, the Vatican Library possesses a good collection of engravings and a more important collection of coins and medals. The catalogue of the Pontifical coins by the Com. Camillo Serafini is now complete in four volumes, the printing of the last volume having lately been finished.

The Profane Museum, annexed to the Library, contains many small curios and various objects of antiquity, mostly of Roman origin. The Sacred Museum is reserved for small Christian monuments. The catalogue of the ivories in this museum was published twenty years ago, but a general and complete catalogue is now in preparation under the direction of Prof. Charles Morey, who will give to

this work the benefit of the information collected by the School of Art and Archeology of Princeton University.

Everybody knows that Pope Pius XI was for most of his life a librarian in the Ambrosian and Vatican Libraries. I knew Monsignor Ratti first in 1910, when I went to the Ambrosian Library for which he had just secured 1,600 Arabic manuscripts bought in Southern Arabia by a Milanese business man, Mr. Caprotti. I was delighted when I knew that Father Ehrle had obtained from Pius X the appointment of Monsignor Ratti as his successor in the direction of the Vatican Library. I had for only a few months the pleasure of frequent conversations with Monsignor Ratti, as the World War called me to the French colors at the beginning of August, 1914. But the ties between the Prefect of the Vatican Library and his curator of the oriental manuscripts were not broken. As early as September 3, 1914, Monsignor Ratti, who was without information about the three Belgians and the French employed in the Vatican Library, after they entered the war, tried to give them a proof of his interest and his affection. I keep carefully the simple post card (written in French for fear of the postal censors) which brought to me the proof that in the Library, in the most anxious hours preceding the election of Benedict XV, my superior had thoughts of me. Meanwhile as corporal in the 26th Regiment of Infantry, I took my part in the defense of my own city of Nancy.

Monsignor Ratti had important designs for the improvement of the services in the Vatican Library, following the lines drawn by Father Ehrle, but the war hindered him from doing what he intended especially for the cataloguing of the printed books. However, he did all in his power to help the employees of the Library, both those in the war and the ones who remained in the service of the Library and suffered from the increased cost of living.

If the diminution of the number of the readers in the rooms of the Library gave some breathing-time to the Prefect, his activity was in other forms useful to the Holy See. I had occasion to be in Rome for three days in February, 1918. I was acting as staff officer in the French Palestine Detachment and rejoined the detachment after a leave. I hastened to the Vatican, passed the Bronze Gate, where the Swiss Guards saluted my uniform of Lieutenant of Algerian Rifles with the German greeting "Achtung," and arrived in the Library. Monsignor Ratti offered to introduce me to the Pope, and we were received the next night. I had never before met Benedict XV Monsignor Ratti entered the room first and meanwhile I knelt, kissing the Pope's hand. Monsignor Ratti said, presenting me: "This is my military attache." Benedict XV laughed heartily and inquired: "Do you intend to enter the diplomatic service?"

Two months later, Monsignor Ratti left Rome and the Vatican Library, going to Poland as Apostolic Visitor.

Apostolic Visitor, Muncio, Archbishop of Milan and Cardinal—all in less than four years after he had left his post as Librarian—Monsignor Ratti next entered the Vatican as Pope. On the very day of his election he received his former collaborators and we knew that we had in the See of St. Peter the most competent of protectors. And in fact then began for the Library a new golden age such as it knew under Leo XIII.

In the first year of his Pontificate Pius XI heard of some 350 Arabic manuscripts, a suite of the Caprotti collection. He decided to buy them, but old friends of His Holiness in Milan were delighted to offer them to him. In 1923, after he had received in January the Chigi Library, Pius XI decided to send to the East two members of the Library staff with instructions to purchase books for both the Vatican and the newly founded Oriental Institute. In 1926 he sent to Greece for an important acquisition and received the Ferrajoli Library.

Pius XI knows books and perfectly realizes their scientific and educational value. Well acquainted with the great movement for the improvement of international intellectual collaboration, which is particularly developed in this country, knowing, moreover, that the organization of libraries is here more than elsewhere a matter of study, the Pope has sent the assistant to the librarian for a visit to some of the most scholarly libraries in the United States.

Third Centenary of the College of the Propaganda.—The celebration of the third centenary of "The Pontifical Urban College for the Propagation of the Faith" witnessed an unusual gathering of alumni from the four quarters of the globe, among them venerable prelates, university professors, pastors, and missionaries who had returned to the Eternal City to revisit the venerable institution in the Piazza di Spagna.

The Propaganda is the oldest of missionary colleges. Its official title commemorates the fact that it was founded as a college under the immediate patronage of the Holy See and the direction of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide by Pope Urban VIII in 1627.

The special object of its foundation was to provide in Rome, the centre of Catholic unity, a college to which students would come from the lands of the foreign missions, to prepare for missionary work in their native countries. During the three centuries of its existence it has realized this ideal. Wiseman, in his course of lectures in the old Sardinian Chapel of Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1835, referred to this special characteristic of the Urban College when he described it as "a college in which are generally about a hundred students from almost every nation under the sun."

Urban VIII had devoted much of the activities of his Pontificate to the development of the foreign missions. It was of good augury that on the very day of his election he published the Bull of Canonisation of St. Francis Xavier, the process of which had been completed by his predecessor. Officially he is counted as the founder of the new mission college, but was completing the good work of four pioneers, the Spanish prelate John Baptist Vives and his friends the Blessed John Leonardi and the Theatine Fathers Mastraia and Ghislieri.

It seems that to Vives was due the idea that it would be most useful to the missions if natives of the countries to be evangelised could be brought to Rome to receive their training for the priesthood. Thus would be provided workers for the reunion of the separated Churches of the East, and men especially equipped to be the nucleus of a native clergy in the pagan mission lands. Like all great works, the new foundation was begun on a very modest scale. After it had been for many years a mere project discussed by Vives and his friends, he

was able at last, in 1626, to purchase a house in the Piazza di Spagna and provide a modest endowment for the support of ten students. In the following summer of 1627 he handed the property over to the Holy See, and Urban VIII published the Bull of foundation.

By the end of the century, in 1700, the number of students had increased to seventy-five, and the College had made considerable additions to its buildings. In the dark years at the close of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, when the work of the foreign missions was almost reduced to ruin, one of the disastrous incidents of the time was the suppression of the College when the French Republicans occupied Rome.

Restored again for a few years under Pius VII, it was again suppressed when Napoleon broke with the Holy See and made Pius VII prisoner at Fontainebleau. The Emperor's decree declared the College to be "a work of no public utility," and therefore to be shut up for good and all, and its few students sent back to their native countries. It was restored for the second time by Pius VII in 1817.

The most striking event of the recent Centenary celebration was the "Polyglot Academy" held in the Court of St. Damasus at the Vatican on the afternoon of May 24th, and presided over by the Holy Father. Among the prelates present were fifteen Cardinals (including our own Cardinal-Archbishop of Westminster) and two Patriarchs of the Near East: Mgr. Efrem Rahmani, Syrian Patriarch of Antioch, and Mgr. Terzian, Armenian Patriarch of Cilicia. Amongst the ambassadors and diplomatists present were the envoys of Spain, France, Belgium, Bavaria, Rumania and Jugoslavia.

Grouped before the throne were the students of the College. Their choir saluted the coming of the Holy Father with the anthem "Tu es Petrus," and then a Latin address was read. This was followed by the characteristic feature of the day. Twenty-five students from different nations came forward in succession to read brief addresses in as many different languages.

There were speeches by students from India in the classic Sanskrit, the colloquial Urdu, and the Tamil and Malayalam of the south. Students from the Far East spoke in Japanese, Chinese and Annamite, and the Near East was represented by Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac and Arabic. Other languages, mostly European, were Greek, Albanian, Rumanian, Hungarian, Polish, Danish, Swedish, Norse, German, the Dutch of Holland and Flanders, and the Dutch Taal of South Africa; Gaelic, English, French and Spanish. It was a living witness of the Church's Catholicity.

The Holy Father then addressed the students. They represented, he said, not only the College of to-day, but the College of the past three centuries: a great work to the glory of God which had grown from small beginnings. In those three centuries it had brought the knowledge of the Faith to thousands in all parts of the world. It had sent out hundreds on hundreds of apostolic messengers. It had given to the Church Bishops, Archbishops, Patriarchs, and Cardinals.

Its glorious past was the augury of a glorious future of fruitful labours for extending the Kingdom of God. Their presence and greetings that day had given him special joy in connection with two ideals that were above all dear to his heart. First they testified to the realization of what had been a supreme care

not only of himself but also of so many of his predecessors—the desire not only to send missionaries to the nations, but also to give them a native clergy of their own.

This was the ideal of the Urban College—not only to send the message of the Faith to far-off peoples, but to make these peoples themselves the instruments of Redemption. This was the ideal of the Holy See, and he rejoiced at hearing of the outburst of gratitude that had welcomed in the Far East the six Bishops he had lately consecrated at the tomb of the Apostles.

Another feature of that gathering which had delighted him was to hear the words they had addressed to him in so many different languages. They made him feel once more the world-wide Fatherhood with which Divine Providence had invested him. He bade them welcome to their father's house.

They had spoken to him in many languages, and as he listened two of them had touched him very deeply. He had heard the voice of far-off China, of that great people now so sorely tried, and which had given to the Church so many missionaries, so many lives fruitful in all good works, so many confessors of the Faith, and, even in these recent days, the testimony of the blood of martyrs.

He knew that the present deluge of evil was not to be laid to the account of the noble and generous Chinese people. Its origin was in an evil leaven brought from outside, a ferment that was a menace to all human civilization and above all to religion, and most of all to the Catholic Faith. The Chinese people knew his affection for them. He would always love them, and so far as Divine Providence would permit he would do all that was possible to aid them.

Another language that he had heard—"the beautiful language of St. John of the Cross and St. Teresa"—reminded him of what was happening in Mexico. It was the language in which those heroic Mexican youths had declared their loyalty to Christ their King as they died at the hands of the persecutors.

That persecution had only drawn the people and clergy of Mexico closer to their pastors and the Apostolic See. He was glad to be able to greet among the students before him representatives of that splendid persecuted people and, so to say, to name in the Church's "order of the day" the horror of the persecution and the glory of the confessors and martyrs who endured it so nobly.

The Holy Father ended by invoking the blessing of God on the students, on their studies and their preparation for the priesthood, and on their future labours in so many lands. He blessed also the homes and kindred they had left, and the nations to which they belonged, and sent a blessing to all the past students of the Urban College, now labouring for the Kingdom of God in so many countries all over the world.

A Press Bureau of World Proportions.—Rev. John J. Considine, who accompanies Archbishop Marchetti-Selvaggiani to the United States as secretary contributes to the *Commonweal* (September 28) an informative article in which he discusses the beginnings and the programme of "Agentia Fides" which is the designation of the Bureau.

Father Considine says:

> . . . The occasion for the organization of the bureau was the last annual meeting in Rome of the Superior Council of the Pontifical Society for the Propagation of the Faith. According to the Council report, on April 4,

1927, 100,000 lire (about $5,600) was voted as an initial sum to lay the lines of a press service for linking up the Church in all the remote countries with the West. In less than a week after the vote, the machinery which was to make the service a reality was moving, organizers were nominated, the bureau was given its name, and the program as regards its broader lines was already determined.

Within twenty-four hours, the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda had given approbation. Subsequently, while prudently denying responsibility for the material that will be circulated, it has carefully directed the development. A formal letter from the Cardinal Prefect, contersigned by the Congregation secretary, went to the 420 Propaganda ordinaries asking their co-operation, while special instructions were sent to the apostolic delegates in Asia and Africa. The Holy Father, already acquainted with the plan early in May, examined and approved the program.

The name of the bureau has been fixed in six languages. First, in order to denationalize it, it is called, in the official Church language, Agentia Fides. In English it is Fides Service, in French Agence Fides, in German Fides Korrespondenz, in Spanish Agencia Fides, in Italian Agenzia Fides. The central offices are in the historic palace of the Propaganda on the Piazza di Spagna in Rome.

The program is simple enough, namely, to follow the best traditions of the world's press agencies. There are three natural departments: the field organization, supplying the material; the centre liaison between the field and the press; and the agencies for distribution, which will reach the periodicals and newspapers of the Catholic world.

For the field organization, some 400 points throughout Asia, Africa, Oceania and the remote parts of Europe and the Americas have been selected, and, by the aid principally of the bishops in whose jurisdictions these points are found, press representatives well acquainted with the areas have been sought. The majority of these representatives, the Fides local correspondents, have already been named. Then, Asia, Africa and Oceania have been divided into some twenty regions, for each one of which an especially experienced observer and skilled writer, with large and mature views, is being found. This writer will deal not in material of a local character but in synthetic reviews of the religious, social, educational and economic conditions of the whole area, in so far as these have a bearing on the Church.

By this plan there will be some seventy-five representatives in China, a dozen representatives in Japan, forty in India, more than a hundred in Africa, with like allotments for the other regions. Instructions for each will be issued periodically from the centre, which will also keep the field men alive to the subjects of interest to the western public.

As years go by, the program of the distribution of the material will be developed. It is proposed to provide two general classes of copy and photographs, that for magazines and that for newspapers. The national director of the Propagation of the Faith will be a logical representative for distribution in each country, and on him will devolve the task of solving some of the local problems. However, the general policy will be to seek to link the bureau with all Church press organizations, such as our own very capable N. C. W. C. News Service.

The bureau, when properly functioning, will possess in its far-flung contact stations an organization which no other body can hope to establish. It will not need to beg for openings. There will be no question of "hold-ups" for space, of demanding place for material because Fides Service is a Church foundation or because it has Church interests at heart. It will have an article in trade of immense value to the press world, the Catholic news from the earth's remote countries. On this sound basis, of the objective worth of its product, it hopes to move along the difficult path marked out for it and serve the purpose of its establishment. . . .

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